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Marxism Today

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

JOAN CARRITT — CHILDREN IN A CHANGING WORLD

ALAN BUSH — WHAT DOES MUSIC EXPRESS?

IDRIS COX — MONOPOLY SHARKS IN INDIA

WILLIAM ASH — PHILOSOPHICAL REVISIONISM

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Marxism Today

Vol. 7 No. 7

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Editorial Comments

THE death of Pope John XXIII was deeply mourned all over the world by Catholics and non-Catholics, by religious people and those who put their faith in man. For they saw in him one who, with great courage, when his own death was almost upon him, spoke up for peace and for life.

In his last Encyclical Letter *"Peace on Earth"* (April 11th, 1963), he called for "the elimination of every trace of racialism", for the end of the arms race, for the banning of nuclear weapons, for a general agreement on progressive disarmament, and for co-operation "between believers and those who do not believe" on many of the immediate issues that face the people. "It can happen", he wrote

> "that a drawing nearer together or a meeting for the attainment of some practical end, which was formerly deemed inopportune or unproductive, might now or in the future be considered opportune and useful."

In opening the way to new possibilities of co-operation between Catholics and Communists, for peace and social progress, Pope John was recognising the realities of the world today—the appalling threat of nuclear war, the great advances of socialism, the strength of the Communist movement, which includes many Catholics amongst its supporters.

Co-operation does not mean refusing to see or to discuss differences in world outlook between Catholicism and Marxism, nor any sort of unprincipled reconciliation. Indeed, co-operation on pressing world and social issues can only be helped by a deep discussion, a dialogue as it were, on points of difference as well as agreement.

Communists, said John Gollan at a recent meeting at St. George's Hall, Liverpool, are prepared to co-operate with Catholics for common aims at any level and would be glad to discuss what could be done to make this possible.

"As far as I understand the Pope's appeal," he declared

> "it was that in view of the gravity of the menace of nuclear war all men of good will must try to reach an agreed solution through honest negotiation for abolishing nuclear weapons and ending the arms race.
>
> "We Communists support that appeal".

What Automation Does

There was, in the May 23rd issue of *New Society*, a most interesting article under this title, by Howard Coughlin, President of the Office Employees International (A.F.L.-C.I.O.).

Discussing the massive displacement of white-collar workers by "office automation" in the U.S.A., he outlines the many clerical functions now being filled by machinery—computing, copying, transcribing from the spoken word, filing, registering information, etc. Recently an "automatic law clerk" was demonstrated before the American Bar Association, that could perform seven man-hours of legal research in a few minutes. Another machine can read typewritten pages at the rate of 1,800 words per minute, convert the material to a punch tape which automatically operates a teleprinter (the work of twenty-four operators).

Originally the automated machines were big, costly structures that could only be employed by the largest firms, but the new transistor computers, says Mr. Coughlin, are often not much larger than an office desk, and can easily be purchased by medium-sized concerns.

The result is obvious. The rate of office and clerical unemployment has risen steadily since 1957—from 2.8 per cent of the total numbers involved in January 1957, to 466,300 workers or 4.6 per cent of the total in January 1962. And it is *still* rising and likely to rise continuously. Mr. Coughlin estimates that, whereas at present for every $5,000 invested in automated equipment one worker can be dismissed, this will soon be cut to $2,000 or even less.

The American unions are campaigning for a shorter working week, higher unemployment insurance, special retraining schemes for those replaced and on other relevant immediate issues. But, faced with the facts, Mr. Coughlin has come to the opinion that, if automation is to be a blessing and not a curse, something *more fundamental* is required:

> "We may have to restructure our economy, replan our society, ask over and over again, what is the purpose of technical change, what is the role of man in such a society, can we afford to have millions of educated men and women

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wandering about in a society which has no use for them?"

For thousands and thousands of years men have dreamed of a society of good life and plenty for all. Automation is precisely one of the great techniques that can make this dream a reality. But automation in what sort of society? That is the question. Marx more than a hundred years ago was showing how the new techniques and inventions were "shouting aloud" for a new social system—socialism.

And thus today it is in America, where it is most fashionable to proclaim that Marxism is dead, that trade union leaders, faced with the facts of life under capitalism, are being impelled to "rediscover" in a painful way the truths of Marxism.

Labour Policy on Higher Education

The Taylor Report on Higher Education is one of the best of recent Labour Party documents. It faces squarely the existence of an immediate crisis in university policies and prospects and recognises more clearly than is often the case with Labour Party statements how much of the problem is a class one. The argument it puts forward for the expansion of Higher Education is an anti-*élitist* one and, as such, has not pleased *The Times* or, indeed, many of the circles where Top People meet Top People.

The Report calls for about forty-five new universities, the bulk of which would come from raising the functions and status of technical and training colleges. This is a feasible target and in fact a necessary one if places are to be found for all those whose Advanced G.C.E. results qualify them for Higher Education.

The danger, however, is that, in the name of "crash" programmes, measures may be imposed which, without touching the basic needs, simply lower standards and attempt some sort of educational expansion on the cheap. The key problem is the provision of adequate funds. Unless the universities pay reasonable salaries to their staff they will not be able to prevent the drift of scientists, in particular, to industry and America or recruit staff to meet the expanding needs. Nor is it any kind of solution to boost teaching in the universities at the expense of research. Money is what is needed.

The Taylor Report recognises this but is vulnerable on two counts. In the first place it does not show sufficient awareness of the dangers of dilution of skill and standards in the universities; in the second it makes no concrete proposals as to how a future Labour Government could in fact finance educational expansions.

Hitler's Generals

On May 31st a leader of the German Peace Union, Herr Lorenz Knorr, was sentenced to a £25 fine or thirty days' imprisonment "for having slandered" five senior officers of the West German armed forces. At a youth meeting two years ago, Herr Knorr applied the term "mass murderers" to a number of Generals because of their service in senior posts under Hitler.

Die Zeit, a Hamburg newspaper, had earlier reported that the provincial courts of both Frankfurt-am-Main and Munich had refused to take on the case against Knorr. The prime aim of the case, *Die Zeit* stated, which was brought by Federal Army Generals who had served under Hitler, was to revoke the decisions of the Allied Tribunal that followed the war.

Shocking as this sentence is, it was, perhaps, to be expected from a Western German legal system which is itself dominated by figures who served under Hitler.

In a way, I find even more shocking the suave "erudite" anonymous two-and-a-half-page article in *The Times Literary Supplement* of May 24th which, under the title of *Hitler and his Generals*, reviews a number of West German publications on the German role in the second world war.

The review poses the question: "Why did the Wehrmacht, one of the finest military machines in all recorded history, serve so loyally a régime which its leaders so heartily despised?" If words like "fine" or "loyal" have any meaning how have they found their way into this context?

The German Army, says our anonymous reviewer, prided itself on its "soldierly honour". The whole effect of the review is to perpetuate the old and pernicious myth that Hitler's Generals hated Nazism, that the atrocities were forced on them, that their consciences are clear.

I was extremely glad to see that in a later issue of the *Supplement* (31.5.63), Alexander Werth, who as a reporter in the U.S.S.R. during the war, could see first hand the effects of Hitler's generals, challenges the whole assumption.

"Were Hitler's generals really gentlemen with a 'unique' sense of 'soldierly honour'?" he asks. In February 1943 he had the opportunity of interviewing several of the twenty-three German generals captured at Stalingrad, "and while some were openly critical of Hitler, others . . . cannot be described as anything other than Nazi maniacs . . ."

General Reichenau, says Werth, "issued a famous order to the Army at the beginning of the Russian campaign which might well have been signed by Himmler".

Field-Marshal von Manstein was responsible for another order, writes Werth, dated November

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20th, 1941 (when according to the *Supplement* reviewer the generals were still independent of Hitler), in which the following expressions of "soldierly honour" occur:

> "The Jewish-Bolshevist system must be exterminated . . . The German soldier comes as the bearer of a racial concept. . . . He must appreciate the necessity for the harsh punishment of Jewry. . . .
>
> "In enemy cities a large part of the population will have to go hungry. Nothing that the homeland has sacrificed may, out of a misguided sense of humanity, be given to war prisoners. . . ."
>
> (*Nuremberg Trial,* Vol. 21, p. 72)

It was the "gentlemanly orders", writes Alexander Werth, not of Hitler or Himmler, but *of the generals,* which were responsible for the death of nearly two million Russian war prisoners during the first two years of the war.

And the Manstein order quoted above, ended with the words "there must be no transgression of the soldier's honour".

African Students Abroad

Last March many British newspapers spread sensational stories abouts riots and racial discrimination in Bulgaria against African students. They could find no space a month later when an All-African Conference of students in Europe, from both capitalist and socialist countries, sent out a press statement pointing out that a representative of the Committee of African Organisations in Britain had made an investigation on the spot.

While this report admitted there had been some misunderstanding, it was explained that the matters in dispute were settled quickly and amicably, that African students in Bulgaria had formed their own committee, and that there was no evidence of racial discrimination. The press statement was signed by the Conference Officials on behalf of over 200 African students from all parts of Europe.

The May conference of independent African States at Addis Ababa also gave a sharp rebuff to the hostile capitalist propaganda. It adopted a resolution condemning racial discrimination in the United States as a permanent state of affairs affecting the whole community, but estimating incidents in Bulgaria as transient, not arising from the character of the social system, and, in any case, grossly exaggerated.

A new *Soviet News* pamphlet, *Two Universities* (1s.), is a strong antidote to these sensational (but false) stories. It gives an interesting account of 4,000 foreign students in the Lumumba Friendship University and the Moscow State University.

Death of Nazim Hikmet

All the world of peace and progress mourns the sad, sudden death of Nazim Hikmet, the great Turkish Communist, patriot, poet.

Nazim was born at Salonica in 1902 at the house of his grandfather, then Governor of the town. At the end of the Balkan war his family moved to Istanbul. In 1919, as a youngster, Nazim left naval college to join the movement of national resistance against foreign intervention.

Still young, he made his first visit to the Soviet Union and enrolled at the University of the Workers of the East. Returning to Turkey in 1924 he began his long difficult work as member of the illegal Turkish Communist Party. Sentenced in his absence by the Turkish courts to fifteen years' imprisonment, Nazim went again to the U.S.S.R., but returned to work underground in his native land in 1929.

He began to blossom as a poet and dramatist. His works were as beloved amongst the Turkish people as they were hated in ruling circles; but no bans or censorship could silence him.

In 1937, arrested and sentenced to twenty-eight years in jail, he still continued to write. His poems passed through prison bars and began, in translation, to be known all over the world.

In 1950, having served thirteen years, after two long hunger strikes, his life threatened by ill-health, Nazim was liberated as the result of an international campaign. He continued his work abroad as poet, novelist, dramatist, political worker, militant of the World Peace Movement. Only recently he published a novel, *"Romantika"* in the Soviet journal *Znamya.*

A Publishing Event

The publication by Lawrence & Wishart of the first volume of the *Documents of the First International*[1] is a real event for students of the British and international labour movement.

The International Working Men's Association (I.W.M.A.) or First International was founded on September 28th, 1864, at a meeting held in St. Martin's Hall, London. According to the report in the *Beehive* (1.10.1864) there was set up at the end of the meeting "a strong committee . . . containing working men of each nationality", and including, last on the *Beehive's* list, but by no means least, a certain Dr. Marx.

From this Provisional Committee evolved what came to be known as the General Council of the International, and it is the Minutes of the Council from October 5th, 1864, to August 21st, 1865,

[1] *The General Council of the First International, 1864–1866*": Lawrence & Wishart, 21s.

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which make the main content of this first volume.

But that is by no means all. The volume also contains the Minutes of the London Conference (September 25th–29th, 1865) along with the report on the Working Class Movement in Germany submitted in English to the Conference by Wilhelm Liebknecht and published for the first time in its original form. The Conference represented an important stage in the Council's struggle for leadership inside the International. It was convened on the insistence of Marx, who considered a Congress premature, and its agenda which Marx drew up, included discussion of the shortening of the working day and restoration of Poland on a democratic basis.

A further section of the volume contains passages from the relevant manuscripts of Marx including an interesting synopsis for his famous report on *Wages, Price and Profits* which he delivered to General Council meetings of June 20th and 27th, 1865.

Finally there is a whole section devoted to the documents of the International 1864–66, including the famous Inaugural Address and Provisional Rules both drafted by Marx himself, the appeals to British working-class organisations to join the International, the statement on the maltreatment of the Irish State prisoners, the Instructions for Delegates, etc.

There is so much material published in English for the first time (at least in any form available outside a few libraries) that, for many, reading the book will be like a voyage of discovery. From original minutes and documents you get the breath of life of the organisation.

You will see how from the outset Marx won a leading position in the International, how carefully he worked for the unity of the great variety of organisations within it, how, for instance, he drafted the Inaugural Address in such a way that it could be accepted by British trade unionists, French, Belgian and Swiss Proudhonists, and German followers of Lassalle. You will see, too, how, whilst working to preserve its mass character, he was fighting all the time to keep it as a genuine *working class* organisation.

Internationalism

Of particular interest is the role of the I.W.M.A., already in those early days, in fighting for both the theory and practice of international working-class solidarity. The second part of the *"Instructions for Delegates of the Provisional General Council"*, written by Marx at the end of August 1866, contains a whole section on *International Combination of Effort, by the Agency of the Association, in the Struggle between Capital and Labour.*

The International was particularly anxious to make it impossible to break strikes by the import of foreign blacklegs, a normal capitalist custom of the day:

> "It is one of the great purposes of the Association to make the workmen of different countries not only *feel* but *act* as brethren and comrades in the great army of emancipation."

You can see this proletarian internationalism in action, for instance, in the support for the Leipzig compositors' strike (Council Minutes of April 25th, 1865) or for the tailors' strikes at Edinburgh and London in the spring of 1866:

> "Agreed that continental secretaries be instructed to inform their respective correspondents with a view to keeping continental workers away from London during the struggle now pending."
> (*Council Minutes*, March 27th, 1866)

The Council arranged for the publication in its periodicals of warnings to tailors, one of which was written by Marx. It also sent two of its members to Edinburgh to carry out agitation amongst workers brought over from Germany by the employers, helped to find work for those who refused to act as scabs, or to organise their passage home.

All this and so much else! We shall return to this volume in later issues; in the meantime, read it for yourself.

Songs of the Labour Movement

Readers who enjoyed John Miller's article in our last issue on *Songs of the British Radical and Labour Movement* will be interested to know that the summer number of *Our History*[2] contains a further study by Miller on the same subject.

So rich is the tradition of political song in Britain, there is so much unpublished or little-known material, that the author had no great difficulty in avoiding undue duplication of the songs chosen.

In his *Our History* study you will find more songs from the early radical movement of the 1790's. One of the most militant is the *"Citizen Guillotine"* (sung to the tune of *Bob Shave the King*). I found an original copy of this once, in leaflet form, headed by a picture of a militant pig decapitating a famous but unloved Prime Minister.

When the Tories of the day attacked the militant people as "the swinish multitude", the radicals turned their propaganda against them.

[2] John Miller—*Songs of the Labour Movement, Our History*. Bulletin of the History Group of the Communist Party, No. 30. 1s. 3d.

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Two of the earliest radical papers were called *Hogswash* (edited by Daniel Eaton) and *Pig's Meat* (edited by Thomas Spence).

You will find some more moving Ernest Jones songs in the Chartist section. It is high time that some enterprising publisher reprinted a selection of the songs and poems of Ernest Jones.

There are also some more of the militant and extremely earthy songs of the early Agricultural Workers Union. I like the one on the *Justice of Peace* which seems to show a keen appreciation of the nature of the state:

My name is Squire Puddinhead
A Justice of the Peace sir;
And if you don't know what that means,
Just ask the rural police sir!
When culprits nabbed for petty crime
Within my court assemble,
If I am sitting on the Bench,
Oh! don't the wretches tremble.

Talking of the State, there is another good example amongst the songs of the early socialist movement—a song on *The Police,* which originated in Germany:

When three men meet together,
There some detective dolt
Sees signs of evil weather
And noses out revolt.
To run them in he is not slow
Lest careless he be found,
For 'tis his duty still to show
He makes the world go round.

Marxist Philosophy

International Publishers, New York, have done a real service to English-speaking students of Marxism by making available a *Reader in Marxist Philosophy*[3] edited by Howard Selsam and Harry Martel.

This is an extremely helpful compilation of some 400 pages containing extracts from the writings on philosophy of Marx, Engels and Lenin. It is arranged in seven sections: What Marxism is; Materialism versus Idealism; Dialectics and the Dialectical Method; Theory of Knowledge and the Philosophy of Science; Materialist Interpretation of History; Religion; Ethics. It has two appendices (one on the formative period of Marx and Engels, and one on Lenin's *Philosophical Notebooks*) and each section has a short introduction by the editors.

It is true that nearly (but not quite) all the original works from which the extracts are taken are now available in English, but it is extremely convenient to have them all brought together. Some of the most profound writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin on philosophical subjects are scattered through a variety of works that are not concerned, in the first place, with philosophy. Sometimes, as I know to my cost, you can spend hours searching for a particular passage that you know well but cannot locate.

This is a book for consultation rather than consecutive reading, and will be of particular use when reading such books as *Fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism,* Maurice Cornforth's *Dialectical Materialism* or David Guest's *Lectures in Marxist Philosophy.*

[3] Howard Selsam and Harry Martel—"*Reader in Marxist Philosophy*"—International Publishers, New York. Paperback edition, 20s. from Central Books or Collet's.

George Grosz Exhibition

"George Grosz is an artist of the German revolt; in this context he was great because he was devastatingly honest."

So says Hans Hess in his excellent Introduction to the catalogue of the exhibition of Grosz's work shown during June at the Arts Council's Gallery in St. James's Square, London, W.1.

The catalogue also contains some notes by Grosz, written in 1920:

> "What are you but miserable satellites of the bourgeoisie? Your snobbish ideas, your strange thoughts, where did you acquire them? Do you work for the working class which will uphold the coming culture? Are you trying to experience and grasp the workers' world of ideas and oppose it to the exploiters and their hirelings? Which after all you could possibly do . . . Your brushes and pens which should be weapons are hollow straws. Come out of your houses even if it is difficult for you, do away with your individual isolation, let yourselves be possessed by the ideas of the working masses and help them in their struggle against a rotten society!"

These were angry and bitter words to address to his fellow artists; but nobody had a better right to use them than Grosz. He practised, as few men have, all that he preached. Between 1915 and 1935, repeatedly attacked and persecuted, he made war with superb technique and brilliant invention, on every brutality and hypocrisy of our society: its corruption, its sadism, its bodily and spiritual prostitution, its cruel greed.

After his flight to the U.S.A. in 1933—for he was in Nazi terms a "degenerate artist"—effectively out of the fight in which for nearly twenty years he had played a part second to none, his genius stifled and shrank, and he became willy-nilly, much more of an artist in the bourgeois sense. He died in Berlin in 1959, having just resettled in his homeland.

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Children in a Changing World

New Trends in Child Care

Joan Carritt

LOOKING at portraits of children in the paintings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, parents today would hardly recognise their children as the same species.

The children painted by the great masters of the time were either the sons and daughters of lords, dukes and princes, decked in velvets and laces, or they were nameless urchins, usually in rags, interesting because of their trade or character. In either case the children were seen not as we would see them today, as children in their own right, *but as adults in miniature.*

Present-day society is increasingly concerned with children as *children,* with their normal processes of development—physical, emotional and educational—within their families, and in society. It is even more concerned with all those factors which can inhibit or distort the normal processes of the growth and development of the individual child and which can thus create problems for society as a whole.

The link between faulty development of early relationships, which may lead to later maladjustments of personality, and juvenile delinquency or adult crime is more and more clearly recognised.

The new trends in child care are towards the earliest possible detection of ill health, whether it be physical, mental or emotional, and where possible its prevention. The new approach is through the selection and supervision of children at risk, from genetic, emotional or accidental factors. This change in attitude and emphasis towards children and their problems is one of the most important and far-reaching developments in our society today.

Changing Environment

In order to see these changes in perspective, it is worthwhile to look back and try to trace their origin.

Rapid changes in the pattern of family life began taking place with the Industrial Revolution. The younger generation in the larger family units moved into the industrial areas, and it was usual for every member of the family from four or five years old to go to work in the mills and factories.

The Town Labourer[1] quotes evidence given in various government reports at the time when children of four worked in the mills, and boys and girls of six years old worked down the mines from 2 a.m. to 8 p.m. or 10 p.m. every day except Saturday. They were used as "trappers" to open and shut the doors that guided the draughts of air through the mines, sitting in darkness in a little hole made at the side of the doors.

Nevertheless, the employment of children even under such conditions was an improvement in their lot, since at least they were kept alive until they could work. Hanway's Act was passed in 1767 and resulted in the boarding out of all "parish" children (i.e. on parish relief) under six years old in London, for not less than 2s. 6d. a week. "Before this Act," the Hammonds comment, "very few parish infants survived to trouble the authorities." Hanway himself estimated the annual death rate among these children as 60 to 70 per cent.

Because, as the Hammonds have written, "during the first phase of the Industrial Revolution, the employment of children on a vast scale became the most important social feature of English life", children achieved recognition in society, and as wage earners in their own families. The long struggle of the working class had begun, to improve hours and conditions of work for children and adults, and to raise the school-leaving age.

The pattern of family life was affected by other developments. Improvements in travel and transport facilities also tended to break up the large family units, and young mothers were now no longer able to turn to the older generation for help and advice in bringing up their own children.

This trend, and the loss of support from the larger family units—grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins—has been accentuated in our own time by the shortage of housing accommodation and the building of huge new housing estates and new towns. Local authorities concerned with re-housing the families on their waiting lists have

[1] J. L. and Barbara Hammond, *The Town Labourer.*

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found themselves faced with unimagined problems, arising from the comparative isolation of the old, the very young, and the handicapped; the long distances from hospitals and clinics, the absence of special school facilities for handicapped children.

The loss of help from relatives and friends tends to intensify normal family emergencies and results in many human tragedies. Such factors undoubtedly account not only for a high suicide rate in some of the new housing estates, but also for the desperate efforts made by some of the families with special problems to relinquish their cherished new houses and gardens and return to the big cities.

In the main, however, and as the result of the war and working-class struggle, especially since 1945, a high level of employment has resulted in improved standards of living. Social legislation such as the Health Service Act and the 1944 Education Act, won as the fruits of victory against fascism, resulted in considerable improvements in the social environment of children. There are, of course, a number of deplorable gaps in the improved standard of living as, for instance, the 2,500,000 on National Assistance, who include not only the old age pensioners, but also the wives and children of those families whose breadwinner is dead, disabled, or has deserted them.

These all-round improvements in social environment are reflected in the improved health and earlier maturity of our children today.

Changing Children

The conditions under which our children grow and develop today are incomparably better than those of the last century, and children show a corresponding improvement.

Dr. J. M. Tanner in his brilliant study on *Education and Physical Growth* gives these hard facts: "The average gain between 1880-1950 is about half an inch and 1lb. per decade at ages five to seven; it increases to about one inch and 4lb. per decade during adolescence, and decreases to a figure of about half an inch per decade for the fully grown adult." (Data from British, Scandinavian and North American countries.)

The same trend is shown in the age of onset of menstruation in girls (menarché), which is perhaps the most concise indication of adolescence in girls. "Menarché has been getting earlier by about four months per decade in Western Europe over the period 1840-1960. Thus a girl today may expect to menstruate on average some ten months earlier than did her mother."

Variations according to class status and social environment are striking. Tanner quotes figures for Manchester working women in about 1820, giving an average of 15.7 years for menarché. The average for "educated ladies", however, was 14.6 years at the same date, and modern descendants of the latter group would now expect menarché at about 12.9 years.

Working in child welfare clinics one has repeatedly been struck by the increasing size and development of babies over the last two or three decades, and particularly of those from Africa and the West Indies, who come in increasing numbers to the clinics. Dr. Tanner records the interesting observation that:

> "Negro babies in W. Africa, E. Africa and the U.S. have been found to be ahead of white babies in their body development at birth, and they are also more advanced in the mile-stones of sitting up, crawling, and talking. This advanced development, which appears to be genetic in origin, disappears about the third year . . . partially and perhaps wholly due to the effect of inadequate nutrition."

It is, however, in relation to adolescence that early maturity presents its greatest problems.

"It is general knowledge that children vary enormously in the age at which they reach adolescence," writes Dr. Tanner, and he illustrates this from a file of photographs of normally developing boys of exactly fourteen. One is small, with childish muscles and no development of reproductive organs, and could be mistaken for a twelve-year-old. Another is practically a grown man who could be mistaken for seventeen years old, and the third is in an intermediate stage. Such differences must affect teaching practice at every age from the nursery upwards, and "Equipment and technique suitable for a four-year-old of thirty years ago are more suitable for the three-and-a-half-year-old now; where they were once an impetus to advance, they may now unless continually revised be an impediment."

The present-day fourteen-year-old *is*, in physical, and very probably in brain maturity also, the fifteen-year-old of a generation ago, and he must be treated accordingly.

The implications of earlier maturity *must* be taken into account by parents as well as teachers in their handling of adolescent children. In 1960, for example, 26.4 per cent of the marriages were of girls between sixteen and nineteen years old, and of the total number 30.5 were pregnant.

Sex education in most schools is too little and too late, and most of us are aware that the knowledge and preparation our children are getting at home and at school is often inadequate to help

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them cope with their early maturity and problems of sex. The recent pamphlet *Towards a Quaker View of Sex* is a significant pointer to the changed attitude of responsible opinion in dealing with the problems of early sex experience, masturbation, pre-marital and extra-marital relations, and homo-sexuality. The long reign of evasion and deliberate ignorance associated with Victorian hypocrisy, and the repressive attitude of the churches, is steadily being undermined and human problems are receiving the light of understanding.

Nowadays girls are often engaged even before they leave school, and will soon be facing the problems of bringing up a young family themselves. They will need some understanding of the problems of child development, as well as of sex, if they are to avoid some of the mistakes of their parents, and this means a good deal more than needlework, cookery and how to bath a baby. This training in child development, and in the problems of bringing up a family, is something that requires much thought, because if it is not considered in school there will be very little opportunity of learning about it once young people have left school, begun work and have decided to start a family.

Changing Pressures

Whilst the material environment for children has changed out of all recognition, and children have responded to improved conditions by earlier maturation, the pressure of ideas has also changed, and children's minds are subjected to the most powerful mass propaganda media yet devised. They are subjected to an incessant bombardment, through TV, radio, the cinema, comics, cheap paperbacks and advertisements of the ideas of what even the *Daily Telegraph* has called "a disintegrating society".[2]

Professor Carstairs, at a recent Conference of the National Association for Mental Health, spoke of other pressures; of the effects of the H-bomb threat on the children of today; "the lunatic dialogue of mutual destruction and extermination", and of how during the Cuban crisis his own children—and everyone else's—asked, "Will they use the bomb?" "What will happen to us?"

He talked of the increasing threat of unemployment, and the way in which it could undermine a child's security, because unemployment itself distorted personality, and affected every member of the family concerned.

He referred also to the anxieties caused by the eleven-plus exam, and the intense competition for higher places, and instanced three attempted suicides in a girl's school after sitting for a higher examination.

The ruling class which owns the instruments of public opinion is very conscious of children as the new generation of voters and spares no effort to make them accept its values.

Public pressure has succeeded in removing the worst of the horror comics, and TV has largely superseded the cinema. Although the standards are less debased than the comics, and perhaps than some of the films, there is little room for complacency in the fact that ten-to-eleven-year-olds are viewing often highly unsuitable programmes on an average 3.3 hours a day (*Survey in Family Viewing*, published by the Council for Children's Welfare).

Changing Attitudes to Children within the Family

Although children are subjected to the high-powered pressures of capitalist advertisement and capitalist ideas in society, within the family there is, in general, far more understanding and toleration and far less repression. There has been a gradual change of attitude to children at home and at school during the century, speeded up by the experiences of two world wars, and especially by the knowledge gained from large-scale evacuation and the enforced break-up of family life.

There is also increasing recognition of the vital role of satisfactory relationships within the family, as the single most important influence in bringing up a new generation of healthy happy children.

The importance of family life and upbringing on the growing personality of the child has always been recognised to some extent. Now the results of scientific investigation into the effects of war-time separations and institutional care by such men as Dr. John Bowlby, Dr. Winnicott, Professor Alan Moncrieff and the work of the World Health Organisation have produced a great weight of scientific evidence on the link between maternal care and mental health.

More recently Dr. Gerald Caplan, in his book on *An Approach to Community Mental Health*, has developed the theme to include the role of the whole family, particularly during periods of family crisis, such as illness, bereavement, and the birth of a premature or handicapped infant.

He and his co-workers are following up a series of families in crisis (the crisis selected was that of the birth of a premature baby) and studying the factors which lead to the strengthening of the family and its individual members through their

[2] In relation to the Clapham Common murders in 1953.

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understanding support of each other. This group they have called the "Healthy Outcome" group, whilst the group which sought the avoidance of unpleasant reality and failed to support each other, leaving the main burden to the mother, was called the "Unhealthy Outcome" group. The ways in which the community and the medical profession can help to influence such families towards a healthy outcome of their crises are also being closely studied.

As a result of all this work, considerable efforts have been made to adapt policies in some social spheres to the new lines of thought.

Children in care have been fostered in ordinary homes to a much greater extent, and the larger homes are gradually being replaced by much smaller homes with "house-mothers and fathers" and children of different ages, to give the children something resembling the family pattern. This approach has also been successfully applied to mentally handicapped children by Dr. Tizard, whose work has at last succeeded in making a break with the traditional concept of treating mentally handicapped children as hospital patients, under a necessarily repressive regime which must inhibit their already limited powers of development. The results of a single experiment were most encouraging, particularly in relation to the social development of the children—but these results have yet to be applied on a wider scale.

Another positive result has been to modify the pattern of visiting children in hospital, in an attempt to reduce the effects of temporary emotional deprivation of mother and family at a time when their support is most needed. These effects have been vividly illustrated in the film *A Two-Year-Old Goes to Hospital*, produced by the Tavistock Clinic. This is a film which should, in my opinion, be seen by every parent, since any child may have to be admitted to hospital in an emergency. In the most progressive hospitals mothers help the nursing staff by feeding and putting their own children to bed, and in some hospitals mothers can be admitted with their children.

Attempts have naturally been made to use the work of Dr. Bowlby and others to counter the demand for day nurseries and nursery schools, and to castigate mothers of young children who go out to work. These attempts were made oblivious of the fact that the investigations referred to children in residential care, and the righteously indignant critics were usually the people who normally leave their children in the care of "nannies" or boarding schools for days, weeks or months, as it suits their own convenience.

In the Schools

One of the greatest changes in attitudes to children and their problems has undoubtedly been in the schools. This new approach to discipline and punishment has changed out of all recognition, as those will appreciate who heard extracts from *Ladybird Lane* on the radio, or read this account of a married supply teacher's experiences, first in a Borstal and then in a small educationally sub-normal school. The whole concept of corporal punishment and "knocking them into shape", is gradually being replaced by attempts to understand the response of the individual child to his home and school environment. Nowadays, in most of the schools, at least in the London area, a child who is found lying, pilfering or truanting is no longer regarded chiefly as a subject for discipline. He is brought to the school doctor as a child who is showing signs of stress and anxiety which necessitate the combined efforts of the medical and teaching staff, and the parents, to discover and remedy the cause.

The present trend, within the School Health Services, is towards the preventive aspects of physical, emotional and mental health.

The physical condition of the children has improved so much since the development of the School, and Maternity and Child Welfare Services, that it is now possible to devote more time and energy to the study of the earliest signs of failure to make satisfactory relationships and adjustments and to the link between such failures and juvenile crime.

Some recent work by Dr. Harriet Wilson in Cardiff has shown that these failures arise most frequently among problem families, in a deprived environment. Among boys included in the study of children from one of the poorest parts of the city the delinquency rate was eight times the average for Cardiff as a whole.

The importance of this approach is seen not only in the field of juvenile delinquency, but in the field of public health, since, according to the Council of Colleges of General Practitioners, Report of the Working Party, 1958, approximately one-third of patients receiving attention from their doctors suffer from illnesses whose origins are psychological.

The New Approach

During the past fifteen or twenty years the infant death rate and the incidence of illness among babies have sharply declined; this has led to an increased rate of survival among babies suffering from immaturity, malformations and birth injuries, who need special care and whose

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parents need guidance in coping with their handicaps and the problems associated with them.

The importance of early diagnosis in every field is increasingly recognised, and there have been, in consequence, numerous and detailed studies of the normal developmental processes of childhood, and the application of various screening tests and other methods of detecting slight and early deviations from normal. Since it is difficult, or virtually impossible, to carry out comprehensive screening tests of all children, the principle of following up children "at risk" is now accepted by many local authorities. Dr. Sheridan (Ministry of Health), in a recent article on *Infants at Risk of Handicapping Conditions,* feels that these children tend to fall into five different categories—those with an unfavourable family history (of deafness, blindness, congenital malformations, mental disorders and so on), those who have been exposed to adverse circumstances in the ante-natal period (toxaemia, threatened abortion, blood group incompatibilities and so on), during birth (premature births, prolonged or instrumental labour), and during early infancy (difficulties in sucking or swallowing, serious illness or infections), and a category which includes children whose development is in any way retarded.

By following up these different categories Dr. Sheridan claims, children "at risk" may hope to benefit from early diagnosis, full assessment and prompt medical and surgical treatment. Similarly, help and guidance may be offered their parents to enable them to care for them as far as possible in their own homes during their childhood, to ensure appropriate education and training during their school life, and continuing supervision of their health and welfare, with final placement in the community or in special care.

Mental Health Problems

Parallel with these developments in the field of physical care, and in some cases overlapping, there have been similar developments in the field of mental health.

Dr. Marion Mackenzie, in *The Practice of Mental Health in Maternity and Child Welfare,* states: "It is now well recognised in Child Guidance Clinics that much emotional involvement is rooted in disturbances in the parent/child relationship in the earliest years", and that "the foundations of this relationship are laid in the ante-natal period and the first months of the infant's life".

Caplan[3] has also pointed out that the first three or four weeks after confinement is one of the most difficult times for a mother, even when everything has been normal. Her difficulties are enormously increased, and tend to become major emotional crises, if the baby is premature or suffering from some congenital abnormality.

The existence of a congenital abnormality or severe physical handicap in itself constitutes an emotional hazard for the child himself and for his whole family, especially his parents.

Dr. Kershaw expresses this clearly in his book on *Handicapped Children.* He says, "To possess a handicap is to be different from the majority. There is a deep need in human beings to be one with and of the community, and anything which prevents one from doing the things which others do tends to isolate one."

For the parents the care of a physically or mentally handicapped child, and the recognition of his special needs and difficulties, gives rise to many emotional crises, from the moment the handicap is recognised and they have to face their families and friends with a child "who isn't quite right".

It is at times of family crises such as these that psychological help is most needed and can be most readily given and accepted.

Dr. Kershaw, the M.O.H. for Colchester, has referred to the need for psychiatrists to "be ready to go out to seek the vulnerables, or at least to help others to seek for them". Here then is the other side of the medal—the need to follow up children at psychological risk, and to prevent the development of serious maladjustment and the risk of later mental ill health or delinquency.

This is the new "mental health" approach which is giving new importance to the role of the public health staff, health visitors and doctors, in the field of preventive medicine and the promotion of positive health, emotional, mental and physical. Opportunities for some training in the psychiatric field have been made available for doctors and health visitors in the L.C.C. area, through weekly discussion groups at clinics and schools, weekly case conferences at child guidance clinics and various lectures, discussions and courses.

It is an interesting fact that the general public already appears to some extent to accept the need for help and advice in this field, and where sympathetic attention is given, turn to the M. and C.W. clinics and school health services to find such help. In one ordinary working-class area, for example, out of a total of 265 children attending during one year the doctor found that in 112 children the symptoms were mainly physical and of the remainder 115 mainly psychological, and in

[3] *An Approach to Community Mental Health.*

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many cases the parents themselves had recognised the link between the two.

In the toddler stage emotional disturbances are usually expressed in physical terms, such as difficulties in feeding, sleeping and toilet-training, or even in psycho-somatic symptoms such as persistent catarrh and infantile skin conditions. In most of these cases general mental health education about normal physical and emotional development, and the discussion of mild and temporary difficulties, is all that is needed.

In a few clinics, parent discussion groups are held, and the exchange of experiences between mothers, with some guidance in discussion by the doctor, is found to help not only the parents with normal and healthy anxieties, but also to give some support to the more neurotic mothers.

There is scope for considerable development of such discussions among parents, teachers and doctors, in parent-teacher associations, especially at nursery and infant schools, and in mothers' clubs attached to clinics and nurseries.

The importance of recognising and following up children at physical risk, to ensure the earliest possible diagnosis and treatment, is now generally accepted. It appears equally important to recognise and follow up children at psychological risk. These children and their families should have especial help and care, and the clinic and school personnel should be able to see them at regular intervals (as they do the children on the physical at risk registers) to detect the earliest signs of emotional strain or breakdown—at any time during their school life.

Hazards

There is sufficient evidence from workers in the child guidance clinics and other studies to compile a list of hazards that are likely to affect children in their early years and to form the basis of a psychological at risk register in infant welfare clinics, day nurseries and nursery schools.

Such hazards could include:

A. The break-up of the "family unit"

1. *Permanent*

Absence of one or both parents due to death, separation or illegitimacy.

2. *Prolonged*

(a) Prolonged and serious illness, physical or mental, of either parent (e.g. involving long or recurrent separations, as in T.B. or schizophrenia).

(b) Prolonged absence of father, due to employment in the armed forces abroad, or in prison etc.

(c) Prolonged or recurrent illness of child, with hospitalisation.

(d) Prolonged absence of child from family (with relations, friends, or in an institution), for whatever reason.

B. An unusual degree of, or unusually long-standing stresses in the family unit

(a) Severe anxieties in parental relationships, such as chronic alcoholism, repeated threats of separation etc.

(b) Neurosis in either parent, of a severe degree.

(c) Physical or mental defect in child, parent or sibling, of marked degree.

(d) Prolonged or recurrent unemployment of father.

(e) Prolonged severe overcrowding.

C. Signs of stress in child, to an unusual degree, or of unusually long standing

(a) *Nervous Disorders*—inhibited, anxious, withdrawn reactions.

(b) *Habit Disorders*—disorders of speech, sleep, feeding, toilet training, and comfort habits such as thumb sucking, nail biting, head banging, cot rocking, masturbation etc.

(c) *Disorders of Behaviour,* e.g. tantrums, aggression, defiance, jealousy etc.

For the school child a further category would include a number of additional signs of failure to adjust at school:

(a) The child who does not settle or mix well in school.

(b) The child who fails to make satisfactory progress for some unexplained reason.

(c) The child who is frequently absent, for whatever reason.

(d) The child with special problems, such as enuresis, habit spasm, stammering, or minor behaviour problems.

Supervision

The value of supervision for children at psychological risk lies in the team approach to the child's problems. In the clinics the problems would be discussed by the parent, the clinic doctor and the health visitor. In case of difficulty the doctor or health visitor might bring up the case for discussion at the discussion group, either at the clinic, with a psychiatrist or psychiatric social worker attending, or at the child guidance clinic.

If this still proved insufficient and further help were needed the child would be referred for child guidance, and the prospects for rapid improvement are naturally the greater where the pattern of emotional difficulties has not been fully established and entrenched, and where the mother, and better still both parents, are willing to understand and help their child in his difficulties.

In school, too, teamwork is essential in the

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supervision of the child. Where difficulties arise, discussions between the headmaster or mistress, the class teacher, the school doctor and the health visitor or, in London, the School Care Committee representative, who visits the home, and at some stage the parents, will often help to straighten out difficulties. If this proves insufficient the educational psychologist may be called in to examine the child and advise. Finally, the child may be referred by the head teacher, the doctor or the educational psychologist to the Problem Cases Conference with a request for child guidance, or in a case of urgency direct to the child guidance clinic. The child will still be seen at school at infrequent intervals, to follow up and to maintain liaison with the child guidance unit. In this way the medical and teaching staff are constantly extending their own knowledge and experience, and the whole standard of their work is improved.

Approach of the Community

Valuable though this new approach to mental health can be, it can never fulfil its purpose of improving the mental health of the community, with all this means in terms of human happiness and efficiency, the prevention of mental illness and breakdown, and the diminution of the crime and delinquency arising from personality disorders and other psychological causes, unless the community itself understands and accepts the approach.

Community leaders, such as doctors, teachers, social workers and health visitors are gradually being trained in the new approach, and a tiny proportion of parents in relation to the whole. The climate of public opinion is slow to change, particularly in such intricate and personal spheres as the field of personal relationships and the problems of bringing up children. There have been some excellent programmes on television, such as the series on "Children Under Stress", and even in programmes such as "This is Your Life", in which the presentation of the limbless mother who had overcome all difficulties in bringing up her family of five children showed a new approach to human problems.

There have been innumerable broadcasts dealing with the problems of human personality with great skill and insight, which could enable us to understand the underlying causes of many of our own irrational attitudes. There is an endless series of popular and well-produced pamphlets and books on the problems of handling and bringing up children, and gradually the new approach to mental and emotional health is gaining ground.

In time new generations of children will benefit as much from the mental health approach as children in the last 200 years have benefited from the physical advances in public health, and tremendous new forces will be liberated for the construction of a new society. Man will learn to deal with the tensions and anxieties which absorb and waste so much of his energies, and be able to harness himself and all his reserves of inner strength to the greatest task before him, the building of a new world.

What Does Music Express?

Alan Bush

DISCUSSION of the general problems of musical theory is a rare thing today in the bourgeois musical world, yet it is of the most vital importance for the guidance of the composer. Musical research since the first world war has been vast in amount, especially since German fascism drove many eminent musicologists to the U.S.A. where the universities all foster lavishly endowed music departments. But the research rarely results in anything but detailed studies of minutiae. Typical articles in the *Acta Musicologica,* the official publication of the International Musicological Society, bear the following titles: *Studies in the Introduction of the Stave in the South-West-German Language-Area about* A.D. 1200, *The Musical Basis for the Harmony of the Spheres,* and *A Newly Discovered Document concerning Classical Egyptian Notation.* In the programme of its eighth congress in 1961, the Society held sixteen sessions during which over thirty papers were read; of these only two concerned general problems of musical theory, i.e. *Past and Present Concepts of the Nature and Limits of Music* and *The Present State of Music Psychology and its significance for historical Musicology.*

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In these circumstances it is not surprising that musical theory in bourgeois society is in a state of chaos. In most cases writers and lecturers on music refrain from dealing with theoretical matters; at the same time they often speak of value and significance, by which, in fact, they mean value and significance for themselves. They are like the man of common sense who states that "he has no philosophy", unconscious of the fact that in making this proposition he shows himself to be a follower of a pernicious and scientifically untenable philosophical tendency, that of unbridled subjective idealism.

On the subject of the present study completely contradictory theories are propagated. On the one side are the musicians who deny that music expresses anything at all; on the other side are those who believe that music expresses human feeling though in most cases they have no clearly defined notion of how this is possible. Among bourgeois writers on music today only Paul Hindemith in *The Composer's World* and Deryck Cooke in *The Language of Music* make any attempt to explain precisely the content of music, and in neither case is the theoretical argument secure from objections. In this subject, as in so many others made impenetrably confusing in bourgeois theory, the application of Marxist principles throws a clear light. It can be seen that music does without a shadow of doubt express human feeling, but this secure knowledge depends upon facts from which certain implications follow; and these implications are often disregarded and even denied by some of the very musicians who accept the idea in general but as a subconsciously held belief and not as a clearly understood theory based on indisputable facts.

Human Feelings

References to human feelings as the content of music occur in Zarlino (1517-90), the greatest theoretician of the classical polyphonic period, and Rameau (1683-1764), who provided the harmonic theory of the major and minor scale period which extended from the mid-17th to the end of the 19th centuries. In Zarlino's *Instituzioni Armoniche* he uses the terms "mournful harmony" and "joyful harmony". In discussing the setting of words he writes:

> "For if in speech, whether by way of narrative or imitation, matters may be treated that are joyful or mournful, and grave or without gravity, and again modest or lascivious, we must also make a choice of a harmony and a rhythm similar to the nature of the matters contained in the speech in order that from the combination of these things, put together with proportion, may result a melody suited to the purpose." [1]

and again:

> "In the same way, if any word expresses complaint, grief, affliction, sighs, tears and other things of this sort, the harmony will be full of sadness." [2]

In Rameau's *Traité de l'Harmonie* we read:

> "There are harmonies that are sad, languishing, tender, agreeable, gay and striking; there are also certain successions of harmonies for the expressions of these passions. . . . Sweetness and tenderness are sometimes well enough expressed by prepared minor dissonances." [3]

Thus both Zarlino and Rameau accept the content of music as human feelings without question but without attempting any explanation for it.

Among the theoreticians of the 20th century, Paul Hindemith in *The Composer's World,* written at the age of 56, attempts an analysis of the composer's psychological condition during the creation of music. Describing music as "a form of communication between the author and consumer of his music", he starts from the rather surprising statement that "music cannot express the composer's feelings", but proceeds to the conclusion that "the composer believes that he feels what he believes the listener feels". He reaches finally the important and clear proposition that "the reactions music evokes are not feelings but they are the images, memories of feelings".[4] This last conclusion is near to Marxist theory in the matter. (On the other hand, other suggestions of Hindemith are more speculative. He suggests that "the baby's own crying, whining and playful crowing is probably the primordial material" [of music—A.B.],[5] furthermore, that "the inner singing and ringing that any Mr. or Mrs. X feels bubbling up in a musically uncultivated mind" [6] is the basis of a composer's musical ideas.)

A Form of Communication

Our great English theoretician, Ralph Vaughan Williams, agrees with Hindemith that music is a form of communication. In his *Musical Autobiography,* written in 1950 at the age of 68, he wrote:

> "The duty of the composer is to find the *mot juste.* It does not matter if this word has been

[1] & [2] Strunk: *Source Readings in Music History,* Faber & Faber 1952, pp. 256, 257.
[3] Ibid: pp. 572, 573.
[4] Hindemith, *A Composer's World,* O.U.P. 1952, p. 38.
[5] Ibid, p. 33.
[6] Ibid, p. 58.

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said a thousand times before, as long as it is the right thing to say at the moment." [7]

The opinions of Arnold Schönberg are rather contradictorily expressed. In an essay entitled *Human Rights,* written in 1947 when over 70 years old, Schoenberg wrote:

> "Music speaks in its own language of purely musical matters—or perhaps, as most aestheticians believe, of matters of feeling and fantasy." [8]

This sentence, if it is taken at its face value and not "interpreted", makes the proposition that music sometimes has a content (of feeling and fantasy) and sometimes no content, since it is impossible to define or expound what "purely musical matters" might be. In my opinion the words "or perhaps" are the most significant in this statement; as far as musical theory is concerned it contributes as much *or as little* as, in the field of natural science, a proposition such as "pigs might fly or perhaps they might not". But elsewhere Schoenberg is unequivocal as when he writes:

> "In the 1920's there were composed songs, ballets, operas and oratorios in which the achievement of the composer consisted in a strict aversion against all that his text presented. What nonsense! Songs, operas and oratorios would not exist if music were not added to heighten the expression of their text." [9]

Furthermore, Schoenberg quotes with approval the following statement of Gustav Mahler:

> "But what one puts into music is always *the whole,* feeling, thinking, breathing, suffering man." [10]

Language of Music

In 1959 Deryck Cooke's treatise *The Language of Music* was published. English contributions to musical theory since the 16th century have been few and negligible. This makes the appearance of this important book all the more welcome. Mr. Cooke argues that music is a language, not merely in a vague general sense, but in the detailed sense that we can identify idioms and draw up a list of meanings. There are obvious differences between the language of music and spoken language —music does not convey concepts, only feelings; and its complexity is such that its elements—melodic line, rhythm and harmony—can combine and modify each other in a multitude of different ways not open to spoken language. Thus it is not easy to provide a "dictionary" of the language of music. But Mr. Cooke has here made the first attempt to compile such a dictionary or at least a phrase book.

With the basic thesis put forward Marxism agrees. The method by which it is arrived at and some of the conclusions drawn are more questionable, especially the implication that the language of music is a sort of esperanto of intervals. Mr. Cooke is, however, refreshingly polemical. In the chapter "The process of musical communication", which deals with the reactions of the listener, he writes as follows:

> "First, we must divide our listeners into two groups, the musical and the unmusical. These words must not be taken to imply respectively 'the professional musician' and 'the layman': they mean simply those (professionals or laymen) who can respond naturally to music with their feelings and those (professionals or laymen) who cannot. With the unmusical, whether they are practically illiterate and tone deaf or highly cultured and thoroughly grounded in the technicalities of music, we can have nothing to do: the incapacity to transform music into feeling is as clear evidence of unmusicality in a professor of music as it is in a navvy, even though the professor may have performed miracles of musicology or technical analysis and even have a long list of opus numbers to his credit." [11]

This survey shows how the theory that music expresses human feelings has been assumed without proof in most cases; it has received some foundation only in the writings of Hindemith and Deryck Cooke. It is not surprising, therefore, that a theory, so relatively weakly supported from a scientific point of view, should have been disputed. This occurred in 1854, when the Viennese musicologist, Eduard Hanslick, published his treatise *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* or translated literally *Of the Beautiful in Music.* The basic proposition of this work is stated as follows:

> "The crude material which the composer has to fashion, the vast profusion of which it is impossible fully to estimate, is the entire scale of musical notes and their inherent adaptability to an endless variety of melodies, harmonies and rhythms. . . . To the question—what is to be expressed with all this material? The answer will be : musical ideas. Now a musical idea is an end in itself and not a means for representing feelings and thoughts." [12]

Hanslick does not attempt to prove this proposi-

[7] Vaughan Williams, *Some Thoughts on Beethoven's Choral Symphony with Writings on other Musical Subjects,* p. 151.
[8] Schoenberg, *Style and Idea,* London, 1951, p. 209.
[9] Schoenberg, *Style and Idea,* p. 219.
[10] Ibid, p. 30.
[11] Cooke, *The Language of Music,* O.U.P. 1959, pp. 204, 205.
[12] Hanslick, *The Beautiful in Music,* Novello, London 1891, pp. 66, 67.

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tion but states it as an axiom. One might assume that he is as equally unjustified as those who assume human feelings in music without being able to prove their existence. But as a matter of logical correctness this is not so. He proceeds from the material of music, airwaves, which impinge upon the ear, and refrains from drawing further conclusions about their content. It is up to those of us who believe that what music expresses is something other than music to supply the proof. (It is the same in theology. It is not up to the atheists to prove that there is no God, but to the deists to prove that they are justified in believing that there is one.)

No Association Whatever?

Hanslick's attack on the notion that music expresses human feelings had no apparent result on composers or other musicians until after the first world war. Since then it has found one eminent and at least one not so eminent supporter among the composers of today. Stravinsky has on two occasions denied content to music. In his *Autobiography* of 1935 he wrote:

> "Music is by its very nature powerless to express anything at all, whether a feeling, an attitude of mind, a psychological mood, a phenomenon of nature." [13]

Thirteen years later in 1948 when 66 years old he restated this proposition as follows:

> "Do we not, in truth, ask the impossible of music, when we expect it to express feelings, to translate dramatic situations, even to imitate nature?" [14]

Like Hanslick, he makes no attempt to justify this assertion but states it as an axiomatic proposition. Positively, Stravinsky defines the phenomenon of music as "a form of speculation in terms of sound and time. . . . Music is what unifies. . . . Music comes to reveal itself as a form of communion with our fellow man—and with the Supreme Being." One would admire the high seriousness of this conception more if it were founded on any basis of fact or even of probability.

More recently, the American composer, John Cage, entered the lists in support of a variation of Hanslick's theory. In 1957 he wrote the following:

> "Tones must be allowed to be tones . . . they must no longer carry an idea or an association or whatever." [15]

[13] Stravinsky, *Chroniques de ma Vie*, Paris 1935, p. 83.
[14] Stravinsky, *Poetics of Music*, O.U.P. 1947, pp. 139, 142.
[15] John Cage, Programme Note, 1957.

Mr. Cage provides no explanation of why the year 1957 is to be acknowledged as a sort of nodal point in time, after which a new demand is required from music. Music, he implies, carried an extra-musical content in the past, but it must do so no longer. (This formulation would have been totally unacceptable to Hanslick, whose theory is that music cannot be and never has been a means for carrying "an idea or an association or whatever".) In the history of musical theory there can have been few propositions more devoid of any sense whatever than this one. It is, therefore, no laughing matter that Mr. Cage has been invited to Britain on more than one occasion to instruct the young musicians in how to compose, though such an invitation is only an example of the practical results of the chaotic state of music theory in bourgeois musical circles.

It is improbable that Mr. Cage's categorical imperative of 1957 has affected many people. Yet the composers who espouse any of the various avant-garde styles which have developed since the second world war could only do so if the expression of human feeling in music is excluded from their aim. The serial technique was advocated in 1921 by Schönberg as a discipline which was to take the place of tonality in music, which he believed erroneously to have outlived its usefulness, and at the same time as a means of expressing human feelings of a hitherto undreamed of subtlety.

Marxist View

The schematic extension of serial method recently to note values, rests, dynamics and, in Messiaen's *Mode de Valeurs et d'Intensités*, even to varieties of pianistic touch, has divorced such music from any possibility of expression. In the newer "aleotoric" music the aim of the composer is to devise methods of ensuring that chance and not selection dictates the notes and rhythm of the theme. "Purposeless choice" is an expression employed by the West German composer Stockhausen as an instruction to the performer in one of his compositions; such a composer can have no intention of conveying a content of human feeling through his compositions. Thus the theory given so especially ludicrous a form by Mr. Cage is in fact being put into practice by many young composers in Western Germany, France, Italy, Britain and regrettably also in Poland. Such composers receive unremitting support from the organisations of the musical establishment of Western Germany and Britain and to a somewhat lesser degree also in the other countries mentioned.

What then is the answer that Marxism gives

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to the question, "What does music express?" Marxist theory of art in general is that a work of art is the reflection of some phenomenon of the world of reality around us, or of an event within our own consciousness. A work of art is, however, not a mere reproduction of some phenomenon or event in the world of reality, but it results from the reaction of the artist to this fragment or event. The reactions of the artist bring about a process of selection of what is reflected and influence the way in which it is reflected. The effect of a work of art is therefore to interest the consumer (as Hindemith calls him) in the subject of the work, and to mould his feeling in the direction of the artist's own feeling in regard to the particular matter which is being reflected.

In music it has to be understood how this can be so. How can a musical work be said to be a reflection of some phenomenon in the world of reality or of an event in our own consciousness, a reflection which is moulded by the reactions of the artist to this fragment of reality?

Materialism provides a partial answer to this question. Musical art exists because man as an organic species possesses ears and a voice. This is one of those very few self-evident propositions which require no proof. But it is supported by the facts of musical history. Kurt Sachs, the world authority on the origins of music, wrote:

> "Music began with singing. However rudimentary this singing may be, it flows all through primitive man's life. It conveys his poetry, and in rest and peaceful work diverts, elates and lulls; it gives hypnotic trance to those who heal the sick and strive for luck and life in magic incantation; it keeps awake the dancers' yielding muscles, intoxicates the fighting men and leads the squaw to ecstasy." [16]

Returning to this self-evident proposition that music exists because man has ears and a voice, we note a peculiarity of this physical organ, the voice. When we use our voices, the tones rise and fall in pitch and fluctuate in volume according to whether we are in a greater or lesser condition of excitement. The reason for this is that in moments of greater excitement our muscular tension increases, bringing about involuntarily the parting and consequent stretching of the vocal cords. Furthermore, the more rapid expulsion of air from the lungs meeting the vocal cords causes a rise in pitch similar to that brought about on other wind instruments. (The involuntary use of the voice is here described; in moments of controlled excitement it is of course possible to utter intensely emotionally charged words in a low, whispered tone.)

Music, whether vocal or instrumental, consists of successions of tones of varying degrees of pitch, volume and duration. It is thus nothing other than a reflection of greater or lesser degrees of tension in the human organism, a reflection in very truth of human feeling. (Instrumental music, which began in all cases as a representation of vocal music, is nothing other than this in its essential nature.) *Therewith the theory that music is the expression in sound of human feeling receives an invincible foundation.*

Work Songs

It should be noted that nowhere does Kurt Sachs bring to light the special significance of the work-song, which organises the movements of men and women in the labour process. Primitive communal labour inevitably involves the moving of heavy stones or logs, and there is no way in which the muscular efforts of groups of men and women could have been co-ordinated except by means of rhythmically co-ordinated shouts. The preliminary shout or shouts lead to the moment when the maximum muscular effort is applied; such shouts are uttered on notes of lower and higher pitch as the climax of muscular tension results in an involuntary increase of vocal exertion. This primitive work-song is no doubt the first music which man created. And it is fully in accordance with the Marxist theory of the rise of the human species out of the higher apes that such a human creation as musical art should have its origin in the labour process. (Such work-songs continued as a necessary part of the labour process until the mid-19th century, even in such an industrialised country as Britain, in the form of shanties, which co-ordinated the movements of the sailors as they hauled on the ropes; the advent of steam did away with manual labour of this kind on board ship.)

National Characteristics

Marxist musicologists such as Sofia Lissa, E. H. Meyer and V. V. Vanslov have discussed various aspects of the reflection of reality in musical art. Some of their conclusions may be briefly summarised. Human feeling does not exist in the abstract. A feeling is always associated with some event or recollection of some event in the past. The associations of the particular feeling may bring visual or auditory images of the outer world with them, also particular rhythmic associations where the image is one of movement. But always primary in a musical reflection is the feeling, which dictates the musical composition. (If this

[16] Sachs, *The Rise of Music in the Ancient World*, Dent 1944, pp. 21, 22.

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were not so, the subject of a work of art could better be expressed in some other form of art such as sculpture, painting, poetry or the novel.)

Apart from these general considerations there is, however, one implication of overriding importance for the composer of today. Marxism teaches that man's consciousness is socially determined. It follows from this that as human society is at present constituted, and groups of human beings, of which the composer is one, are still organised in national groupings with their own culture, ways of expression, characteristic gestures and above all, their own languages, music, if it is to be musical art in the true sense of the word, *must have national characteristics.* The language by which the musical phrases have in the past been moulded is the most basically determining feature but it is by no means the only one. People of different nationalities express themselves differently in their gestures, in the speed and inflections of their speech. Thus for a composer truthfully to express himself in music, his feelings will be associated and moulded by the particular social consciousness which has been developed in him in childhood and by his education and traditional cultural influences.

This is an inevitable implication of Marxist theory, but many non-Marxists would find it also difficult to dispute. No literary artist would suggest that an English writer could express himself more truthfully if he moulded his phraseology on a reflection of German grammar and syntax. Yet composers who do not appreciate the situation in which musical history places them, often unhesitatingly mould their style on German or French idioms, which have in their turn developed from the peculiarities of German and French culture, above all of their languages. Furthermore, the advocate of cosmopolitanism in musical idiom has to overcome the objection that whereas in all other features of a composer's life, in his education and all that he has acquired in his social consciousness he is English, in his music alone he is going to express himself in an artistic form which is un-English. There is, in fact, no solid theoretic argument against the proposition that, as human society is at present organised, music should develop within a national framework. The first musician to perceive this was the Russian composer and musicologist Asaviev, who in the late 20's invented the term "intonation" for the process of expression which is characteristic of music.

It would be beyond the scope of this article to discuss the problem of how, in Britain today, we can pursue most clearly and straightforwardly the aim of developing the English, Scottish and Welsh schools of music, or to deal with the negative implications for a considerable number of musical works which are produced and performed and which contradict this aim completely. The question which is the subject of the article has, I believe, been answered from the Marxist point of view. The manifold implications of the theory for musical practice present a host of problems which may well occupy musicians for many decades to come.

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Monopoly Sharks in India

Idris Cox

DURING 1962 India was faced with a serious economic situation. This was not unexpected. True, the events which arose over the border dispute with China placed new burdens on the Indian economy. This was not the prime cause of India's problems. There were signs of an increasingly serious economic situation before the military operations of last autumn, but the measures taken arising from this conflict served to deepen the crisis in 1963.

Before February 1962 the General Election Manifesto of the Communist Party of India gave the warning that:

> "The increasing collaboration between Indian business and foreign monopolists is a disturbing development, fraught with grave danger to our nation."

At a much earlier stage the Communist Party, while supporting all progressive aspects of Nehru's home and foreign policy, had strongly criticised the influence of monopoly and reaction on India's successive five-year plans. At its Amritsar Congress in April 1958, its main resolution declared:

> "We have also laid bare the grave defects of the plan, namely, unwarranted and harmful concessions to big business, the excessive reliance on foreign capital, the method of raising the resources by increasing the burden on the common people through iniquitous taxation and heavy resort to deficit financing, the dependence on bureaucratic machinery." (p. 6).

New Burdens

Since last autumn the economic situation has become far more serious. In February this year the Government presented a new budget which was prompted by the biggest arms programme in India's history. The 1962 arms budget of £282 million was increased to £650 million (four times that of 1956-57), together with an extra £89 million for capital expansion in the arms industry. Nearly half the increased expenditure—£206 million—is to come from extra taxes on the ordinary people, already poverty-stricken, and only a small portion from India's rich capitalists. The rest is to come from foreign imperialist countries, which will also have to be repaid, by further sacrifices from the Indian people.

In the first three months of 1963 the United States provided arms to India and a direct military grant of £24 million. Britain provided £21 million and West Germany over £10 million. The United States also advanced its biggest single loan of £96 million for India's third five-year plan, making a total of £325 million in the past two years. Britain and the United States are most enthusiastic about increased arms for India (providing it foots most of the bill) and that the arms are purchased from them!

Communist spokesmen strongly condemn the imposition of these new burdens on the impoverished masses of India. An editorial in the Communist weekly *New Age*, March 3, 1963, declared:

> "Taxes were inevitable, but not these. Burdens were inevitable but not this way on the poor. We support strengthening industry and defence. but not this way which only strengthens the big monopoly sharks. We will not prosper or be strong unless we clear them out."

The editorial focused its criticism against the opportunities presented by the new budget to favour the position of foreign capital and private Indian capital, thus:

> "In the name of the Emergency more foreign capital is trying to burrow more into the country and more private Indian capital is trying to bore into the State sector. Is it for this that we are defending the country and giving our blood, labour and life?"

Even the British journal *The Economist* (March 9, 1963), though sympathetic to the Indian Government, felt obliged to point out:

> " . . . the only group who may feel they have got off lightly are the millionaires. No fresh attack of significance has been made on India's wealthy minority. The heaviest blow at the lower and middle classes was a steep levy on kerosene, the normal urban cooking fuel . . . and since real wages in many sectors have fallen in the last two years, and are now to be forced down still further, questions arise about how much the people can stand." (p. 915).

In the Rajya Sabha (Senate) the Communist member Bhupesh Gupta made a sharp attack against those responsible for this new attack:

> " . . . the forces of reaction within the country have grown stronger and the forces of democracy and progress have suffered certain very serious blows. The forces of Right reaction are today

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organised not merely in the parties of the Opposition but also within the Government and in the State apparatus" (*New Age*, 3.3.63).

In the Lok Sabha (Parliament) the Communist member A. K. Gopalan warned against the effect of these forces on India's external policy, and the " . . . increasingly dangerous role of Right reaction inside the country and the danger of imperialist pressure on our foreign policy" (*New Age*, 3.3.63).

Five Year Plans

The history of India's three five-year plans since 1951 is not only one of the growth of the state sector of production, but an even more rapid expansion of private monopoly capital. Long before independence in 1947, India was more advanced industrially than any of the newly-independent states which came into being after the second world war.

In this respect it occupied a special position, as distinct from those countries where the national bourgeoisie is still extremely weak and undeveloped. True, India also has common features with all newly-independent states, but the contrasts are so striking that these distinctive features deserve a fuller analysis.

The first five-year plan was launched in 1951 when India's population was estimated to be 361 million. The plan was not designed to transform the economy, but mainly to raise the level of production in industry and agriculture. The total investment planned was for £2,325 million—half in the public sector and half in the private sector. The estimated national income in 1951 was £7,000 million, about £19 10s. per head. The plan resulted in an increase of 18 per cent in the national income, but due to the increasing population less than 10 per cent in income per head.

The second plan—1956-61—provided for an investment of £4,650 million (double the first plan) and the share of the public sector was increased —£2,850 million, as against £1,800 million to the private sector. In actual practice the share of the public sector went down by 10 per cent, while the private sector increased 20 per cent above its target at the termination of the plan.

During the second five years, population increased to 425 million. By now the census was more efficient, and the figures showed nearly double the estimated increase. To make matters worse, grain production fell by 6.7 million tons. India had to import American grain at a heavy cost, and food prices rose by 10 per cent. The terms of trade (declining export prices compared with increasing import prices) became more un favourable for India (as for other countries producing food and raw materials) and the trade gap widened from £47 million in 1954-55 to £218 million in 1958. In the two years between 1956 and 1958 India had to use £360 million of its foreign exchange to assist in closing the gap.

Despite these unfavourable factors there was a considerable growth in the public sector, mainly in steel, coal, transport and power. However, the private sector increased more rapidly, together with big monopoly and profits. Though the old feudal land system was radically changed after Indian independence it was largely replaced by a system of big landlordism.

Landlords and rich peasants (only 10 per cent of the agricultural population) still own nearly 60 per cent of the cultivable land. More than 10 million families have no land, and have to work as labourers. Taxes rose steeply and mass unemployment increased, with an all-round drop in living standards. At the end of the second plan, it was pointed out that "on an all-India plane, for all workers as such, the real wages have definitely gone down" (S. A. Dange, *New Age*, February 1961).

Foreign Aid

During the decade of the first two five-year plans, India received more than £1,500 million in foreign loans and grants, and withdrew £900 million from its total of £1,000 million sterling balances. Not only were the Indian monopoly firms left untouched, but their profits rose by leaps and bounds. Total national income increased 42 per cent in these ten years, but only 18 per cent in income per head. The millionaires and the rich are included in this calculation (where the increase was ten times higher) and so the ordinary people derived little benefit if at all.

During the period of the second plan there was formed, under World Bank auspices, the "Aid-India Club", comprised of the United States, West Germany, Britain, Canada, France and Japan. Total loans and grants made were bigger than all countries in south-east Asia together, on the plea that it was vital to build up India as "a defence against Communism". It was made clear by the World Bank that this was conditional upon "more incentives to private enterprise, both internally and externally". Moreover, no less than 80 per cent of all U.S. loans (only 10 per cent of which went to industry, including the minute portion of 1 per cent to the public sector) were conditional on the purchase of U.S. goods, and most of this was surplus food supplies. No wonder the U.S. magazine *News and World Report* (August 1962) made the comment: "The true story of foreign

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aid is that it has become a built-in subsidy for the American economy."

The biggest single factor in this period was genuine economic aid from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, amounting to £315 million up to September 1960.

The Soviet steel plant erected in Bhilai was the first real step in providing India with a base for heavy industry. Britain, the United States, and West Germany felt obliged to meet this challenge also by constructing new steel plants, but on a lower level and at a much greater cost for India. In the Auditor-General's report for March 1961 it was revealed the Bhilai plant made a profit of £22,500 for India. The British plant at Durgapur incurred a loss of £200,000 and the West German plant at Rourkela a loss of £375,000. Apart from greater efficiency, the Soviet plant was based on loans of 2½ per cent interest and the others at 6½ per cent.

However, due to the pressure of Indian monopoly capital and landlordism and the dependence on the All-India Club, there was little basic change in the conditions of the masses. Consumer prices went up 28 per cent during 1955-60 and unemployment by 32 per cent. True, the working day was reduced to eight hours, but *real* wages were only slightly above even the 1939 level. Literacy rose from 22 per cent to 25 per cent, still leaving 75 per cent without the means of education.

Third Plan

The third plan (1961-66) provided for a capital outlay of £8,700 million, 60 per cent of which went to the public sector and 40 per cent to the private sector. The plan is dependent on getting 40 per cent of the total outlay from foreign loans and grants, of which already, more than £1,000 million has been promised since 1961. Since 1951, India has received more than £3,000 million (exclusive of socialist aid), and since the military clashes on the Indo-China border, both Britain and the U.S., have stepped up their "aid", including armaments and direct military grants.

The plan aims to provide 14 million extra jobs, but if landless peasants are included, this will still leave 12 million unemployed in 1966. The aim is an increase of 31 per cent in the national income, but only 16 per cent in income per head, i.e. from 9s. 6d. to 11s. per week. This still means abject poverty, even below the level of most African countries. In actual practice this has not been achieved, and the already low living standards will be further reduced by the new budget.

The fact must be faced that the third plan is faced with a serious crisis, and the gap between the targets set and actual achievements will be greater than in the first two plans. A special economic survey in the London *Financial Times* (18.3.63) gives the following picture of the first two years of the third plan (1961-63):

	Per cent increase	
	Annual Higher Target	*Annual rate of results*
Industrial production ..	11.2	6.5
Exports	5.7	2.9
National income	5.4	3.5
Income per head	3.1	1.5

This survey points out that the value of exports in the first ten months of 1962 was £462 million as against imports of £691 million. These had drained India's foreign reserves down to the low level of £71 million, and the *Financial Times* explains:

> "Much of industry works at 30 and 40 per cent below capacity for lack of 'free exchange' to spend on materials and spares."

The real explanation goes much deeper. It is the fact that India is still to a great extent under the joint domination of foreign imperialist "aid schemes", foreign private investment, and Indian monopoly capital and big landlordism.

Production of food grains has remained stagnant at 80 million tons a year for the past three years, as against a target of 100 million tons a year. With the rapid rise in population, this presents a serious problem. Even the New Delhi correspondent of *The Times* (11.3.63) had to point out recently that:

> "The trend is plain. It might not lead to catastrophe (unless or until there is a sequence of bad years), but it must lead towards the depression of India's people to levels of diet even below what they now subsist on, to more malnutrition, for millions to slow starvation."

In a survey in the *Economic Weekly* (June 1960) the economist H. F. Lydall calculated that 34 per cent of the national income went to the top 6 per cent of the population. The poorest 10 per cent get only 2½ per cent of the national income. The average monthly income of 60 per cent of the people is less than 25 rupees (37s. 6d.) when the necessary "minimum for health and nutrition is 35 rupees (52s. 6d.)." The Indian journal *Statesman,* basing itself on the report of the Planning Commission, pointed out that "at the current rate of economic growth and the increase in population at least a third of India's population will continue to be below the breadline at the end of the 20th century" (29.1.63).

Unemployment and under-employment exists on a vast scale. An analysis made by Professor

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Mahalanobis, Statistical Adviser to the Central Cabinet and member of the Planning Commission, gave the following picture in January 1959 of the proportion affected among the total labour force of 170 million in the countryside:

30 million work only five days a month
40 million less than 10 days a month
50 million less than 15 days a month.

In contrast, the big landlords and rich peasants are doing well. Of the increased income of £122 million from agriculture in the decade 1950 to 1960 it is estimated that 30 per cent went to only 3 per cent of the farms of over thirty acres (Dr. K. N. Raj, *Economic Weekly*, February 1961). Industrial and plantation profits were even higher. In his speech to the Lok Sabha (Parliament) the Communist member, A. K. Gopalan, gave these examples of increased profits for the period 1955 to 1959:

	per cent
Tea plantations	149
Vegetable oils	152
Jute textiles	292
Sugar	145
Chemicals	249
Woollen textiles	281
Engineering goods	175

The Communist Stand

The Communist Party of India has waged a consistent campaign to transform the character of successive five-year plans, to expand the state sector and reduce the private sector of production, for drastic land reforms, for raising the level of living standards in industry and the countryside. Gigantic campaigns have been waged for higher wages, shorter hours, against increased taxes, the release of political prisoners and expansion of political liberties.

In June 1962, the Communist Party organised mass protest demonstrations against increased taxes, and again in July 1962 against increased railway fares. The reason for these extra burdens put on the Indian people was explained in Lok Sabha on August by the Communist leader Indrajit Gupta:

> " . . . apart from this crisis of foreign exchange, we find a crisis of internal resources because the way the Government tries to solve the problem it is faced with is to make concessions, one concession after another precisely to the group of big business houses and capitalists" (*New Age*, 2.9.62).

The Communist Party declares that the main reasons for the serious situation facing India are the pressure of foreign imperialism, the strengthening of reactionary forces within India—all of which have made their impact on Government policy.

In his survey *Big Business Under Congress* (written in October 1961), Ajit Roy, one of India's Communist leaders declares that:

> "It will not be an exaggeration to say that less than fifty big business families, firms and companies—Indian and foreign—between themselves control about three-fourths of the entire organised private sector—plantation, manufacture, banking, insurance and trade."

The survey goes on to explain that through the co-ordination of directorships, interlinking of interests, and chambers of commerce and industry, these "big business groups pursue common policies and act in unison." They control a large sector of newspapers and periodicals through which "they carry on intensely reactionary campaigns . . . "

The advance of these reactionary forces was given political expression in the Indian elections of March 1962, in which the newly-formed Swatantra Party (the voice of big monopoly), Jan Sangh (communal party) and others of a similar outlook made a big advance at the expense of the Indian National Congress.

The main target of these reactionary forces is against the public sector of production, for the expansion of the private sector (and for bigger profits), and against the Nehru policy of non-alignment. They are encouraged by foreign monopoly interests which have made serious inroads in recent years and greatly extended their penetration of India's economy. Every new loan from the World Bank and Aid-India Club becomes a lever which exercises more pressure on the Indian Government to expand the private sector more rapidly than the public sector and to abandon its policy of non-alignment.

Foreign Investment

British investments in India doubled in the decade 1948-58, from £154 million to nearly £300 million, and United States investments rose five times, from £9 million to £44 million. The Reserve Bank of India estimated that total foreign investments in 1958 stood at £228 million. By 1960 this total had increased to £492 million, apart from bank investments. The London editor of the *Daily Telegraph* observed:

> "British private investment in India, thirteen years after achieving her independence, is today greater than at any time during the imperial rule." (8.11.60).

The paid-up capital of joint-stock companies rose from £345 million in 1947 to £1,294 million (nearly four times) in 1960-61. The big Indian

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monopolies have been able to collaborate with foreign capital and to extend their grip on the Indian economy. In the year 1958-59 seven big Indian monopolies possessed assets amounting to £582 million, 35 per cent of the total assets of 28,000 firms. Two firms—Tata and Birla—between them held 20 per cent of the total.

Even in 1957 there were 506 giant factories (7 per cent of the total) employing more than 1,000 workers each. They accounted for 62 per cent of the total productive capital of 6,780 factories in the manufacturing industry, and more than 68 per cent of the total workers employed. At the other end of the scale there were 4,969 factories (73 per cent of the total) each employing less than 100 workers, which together had only 9 per cent of the total productive capital and less than 10 per cent of the workers employed.

Big Business

On the tea plantations 10 per cent of the 6,569 total estates held over 74 per cent of the total plantation land. The official report of the "Plantation Enquiry Commission" in 1956 pointed out:

> "Thirteen leading agency houses control over 75 per cent of the tea production in Northern India; out of this seven companies control more than 50 per cent and five companies as much as 36 per cent of the production."

Banking in India reveals a similar situation. A small number of big banks (14 out of a total of 350) held in 1960 about 70 per cent of the total bank deposits, and these were mainly under foreign control. In the insurance business the ten biggest firms (mainly foreign) held 65 per cent of the total premiums, and fifty firms at the bottom held only 4 per cent.

The big Indian monopolies dovetail their operations with the United States and British foreign firms, and ten Indian big business families constitute something in the nature of a financial oligarchy. These are: Singhania, Dalmia and Jain, Ruia, Birla, Geonka, Poddar, Bangur, Jatia Brothers, Thapar and Tata. Between them they hold no less than 619 directors' seats in various associated firms—an average of 62 for each family!

The house of Tata controls more than 150 of the biggest financial and industrial units in India. The house of Birla controls more than 300 companies. The Dalmai Jain group operates through several managing agencies, controls one of the biggest banks, and has a chain of newspapers, cement factories and other industries.

This monopoly control is expressed particularly in the ownership of newspapers. The *Annual Report of the Registrar of Newspapers for India,* 1961 pointed out:

> "It was noticed that as much as 67.5 per cent of the total circulation of dailies in India came under the ownership of chains, groups and multiple units which among them published 167 daily newspapers."

The profits of the big monopolies have increased by leaps and bounds. Dividends of industrial securities increased by 26 per cent between 1952 and 1958, but for the year 1960-61 had risen by 83 per cent. Among the wealthy of India the number receiving more than £22,000 a year increased from 1,325, in 1951-52 to 2,693 in 1958-59.

In contrast, the real earnings of factory workers have declined, and were 14 per cent lower in 1959 than in 1955, while the mass of Indian peasants still suffer hunger and poverty. Yet, in the midst of the acute border clashes with China last autumn when India's poverty-stricken masses were urged to contribute to the "emergency fund", it was estimated that "private gold hoards" in the country ranged between £3,000 million and £4,500 million. These have hardly been touched in the "Emergency."

In the 1962 election campaign Bhupesh Gupta wrote *The Big Loot,* a brief outline of foreign exploitation in India and its alliance with the big monopolies, in which he pointed out (pp. 32-3):

> "The U.S. and British Governments, the World Bank, the Development Loan Fund and other international financial agencies of the West make no secret of their plans for more and more foreign private business investments in India for promotion of business collaboration and joint enterprises of foreign monopolies and Indian big business."

People versus Reaction

The 1962 Election Manifesto of the Communist Party warned that . . . "the links that are getting forged between Indian big business and their counterparts in imperialist countries have to be viewed with apprehension, especially in the context of the new strategy of the imperialists." While directing its main opposition to the parties of reaction (Swatantra, Jan Sangh, etc.), the manifesto also exposed the influence of imperialism and big business within the Indian National Congress.

> "By utilising the economic difficulties which the country faces and by playing on anti-democratic sentiments, the imperialists seek to forge

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alliance with the big monopolists who wield enormous economic power and are closely connected with many leaders of the ruling party."

This influence was revealed in the pressure upon the Nehru Government to dissolve the Kerala State Government which was led by Communists, in the suppression of trade union struggles for higher wages, and in the opposition to drastic land reform.

India's reactionary parties and the right-wing in leading Congress circles have the backing of United States and British imperialism in the pressure for reducing the public sector and increasing the private sector of production, and to abandon India's policy of non-alignment. Indian monopoly circles hope to make bigger profits from the new gigantic arms programme. The result is that India's poverty-stricken masses are being urged to tighten their belts for further sacrifices.

Whatever happens in the efforts to settle India's differences with China depends primarily on the struggle of its people against foreign domination and Indian monopoly capital. Only then will the real voice of the Indian masses exert itself in the cause of world peace and friendly relations with all countries.

Philosophical Revisionism

William Ash

IN a very interesting little book, *The Philosophy of Man*,[1] Adam Schaff, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Warsaw and a member of the Central Committee of the Polish Working People's Party, applies a Marxist analysis to the ideological ferment which has characterised the intellectual life of Poland over the last few years. This is an important subject for consideration since many propagandists in the so-called "free world" affect to find in Poland the brightest prospects for "liberalisation" and the assertion of "individual freedom". What they really mean, of course, is that the hankering after bourgeois forms of art and philosophy by a section of the Polish intelligentsia encourages the hope that the advance of socialism itself might be retarded there or even reversed.

Professor Schaff believes that a failure to provide an adequate Marxist explanation of mistakes and distortions in the difficult period of laying the foundations of a socialist society enabled certain "moralisers" to turn criticisms of the application of Marxism into an attack on Marxism itself. He also argues that in not developing the full implications of Marxism in respect to individuals and their personal relationships an area of life was left undefended against the invasion of bourgeois ideas. "This deficiency is demonstrated by the fact that the Revisionist tendency in our country has borrowed heavily from Existentialism and has in fact been sailing under its flag."

[1] Published by Lawrence and Wishart at 15s.

Existentialism

It is easy enough to understand why Sartre's French version of Existentialism should be the specific philosophical guise adopted by certain revisionists in Poland. In eastern Europe, where there were no indigenous bourgeois revolutions, middle class intellectuals long tended to look to France as the original source of liberal ideas. It is only natural that in the changed circumstances of today those out of sympathy with the effort to build socialism should once more borrow their ideological weapons from the same armoury. But there is a more particular reason why Sartre's philosophy suits their purpose. Since he has attempted to combine an existentialist account of the plight of the individual with a Marxist account of society and its dynamics, the latter aspect of his thought provides a convenient cover for smuggling in the bourgeois idealism implicit in the former.

In spite of its incorporation of certain Marxist elements, in spite of its superficial differences from earlier schools of thought, existentialism is unquestionably a form of bourgeois idealism. Although Sartre derives a philosophy of anxiety and despair from the absolute freedom of the individual on which optimistic philosophies were once based, this is not because existentialism is any the less bourgeois but only because the bourgeoisie itself no longer enjoys an undisturbed vista of the continuous progress of humanity under its benign rule.

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The very fact that in different social contexts the doctrine of the sovereign individual will can result in such different attitudes toward life practically amounts to a refutation of any idea that the individual "is the independent creator of his own destiny". The class character of existentialism is further demonstrated by the nature of those to whom it appeals—certainly not the toiling masses of Venezuela or Vietnam or France itself. It is an earnest of Marxism's promise of a classless society that it speaks a language simple enough to be grasped immediately by the exploited millions who are the agents through struggle of social change and yet sophisticated enough to convince, if so far only partially, as urbane, though good-hearted, a bourgeois intellectual as Sartre.

The Individual and Society

And yet it is not logically possible to combine such disparate elements as existentialism and Marxism in one synthetic philosophy. The basic existentialist contention that "existence is prior to essence" has entirely different consequences from the Marxist thesis that "the social existence of men determines their consciousness". The abstract principle of the priority of existence over essence simply means, as developed by Sartre, that the individual in isolation determines his own being by the free exercise of choice. In so far as his being involves relations with others, he creates those very relationships by the way he chooses to act from an original voluntarism. This, of course, is merely a social application of solipsism, the philosophical cul-de-sac in which bourgeois idealism always finally fetches up.

What looks like a concession on Sartre's part in admitting that only Marxism can account for the dynamics of a society in movement proves to be meaningless as long as he maintains as the starting point of his philosophy the "free individual". Not only is "freedom" an empty term in respect to an individual conceived to begin with as completely detached from social influences, but also no multiplication of such abstract individuals would ever add up to a concrete society. From his existentialist account of the individual there is no logical way for Sartre to advance to the realm of those actual social events of which he is prepared to accept a Marxist analysis.

Marxism, however, which does not philosophise about man in the abstract but deals with specific men as they have developed in this or that actual form of social organisation, is equipped to draw scientific conclusions about society and also to provide a reasonable account of individuals whose very attitudes are social products. Professor Schaff believes that Marxists, while possessed of the necessary dialectic for explaining the nature of man-in-society, have paid insufficient attention to individual hopes and fears and have thus allowed various forms of religion to win assent for their absolutist answers to certain human questions. Existentialism itself, even when professing to be atheistic, is just such a religion. Instead of postulating a god who has given man freedom of choice in order to condemn him for his action in a world he is not responsible for, Sartre makes man himself his own judge in respect to the use of his freedom of choice in a situation he does not control. Hence the self-loathing and despair which is not unlike the pessimism found in the writings of monks.

But although existentialism cannot solve the questions it raises, Professor Schaff argues that the questions themselves must be considered—"questions of personal responsibility for one's actions, including political action in situations involving conflicts between opposing moral standards; questions also of the individual's place and role in the world, which may be expressed loosely as the meaning of life." Considering such problems in a Marxist way involves deriving from the general principles of historical materialism such propositions of socialist humanism, as:

> "the specific understanding of the individual as a social product—as a product of the totality of social relations; the specific understanding of the relation of the individual to society on the basis of a materialist conception of social development; and the recognition that ideals can be realised only under given social conditions, without which recognition they degenerate into utopias. . . . The socialist humanist is persuaded that he can find personal happiness only through the happiness of society."

Socialist Humanism

But this socialist humanism must be clearly distinguished by its concrete and militant nature from moralistic humanism:

> "Socialist humanism is concerned with the realisation of humanist aims under the concrete conditions of modern society divided by class struggles. It hence demands not only love for the people, but hatred of their enemies. . . . In real life we are confronted, not with man in general, but with people who defend definite interests and are correspondingly motivated and organised. In real life the exploiters and oppressors are bound to oppose with all their strength the realisation of the humanist ideal, and to try to put an end to the ideology which advocates it. . . . To be a humanist does not mean to love

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people in general, to advocate abstract pacifism, to reject all physical struggle. To be a humanist today, when the realisation of humanist ideals is no longer a utopia, is to be a fighter. And he who fights well must hate well."

And "just as the demand for absolute love is a mockery in conditions of struggle, so is the demand for absolute freedom. As long as there are enemies of freedom, as long as they can fight effectively, so long will it be necessary to strive to limit their freedom." Because, as Professor Schaff explains: "the freedom of one class is restricted or even destroyed by the freedom of another, and so they have different conceptions of freedom." As has already been noted, bourgeois philosophy in general takes as its point of departure the freedom of the individual, laying great stress on its liberal ideal of the "free man". But in practice this ideal proves to be the defence, as libertarian, of all social measures which insure the continuing rule of the bourgeoisie and the suppression, as attacks on liberty, of any measures which would establish the freedom of a class opposed to that rule. Arguments about freedom in class-divided societies are thus bedevilled by the fact that the term actually has an entirely different content, depending on which side is using it. In one case it means freedom *to* exploit: in the other, freedom *from* exploitation.

Alienation

While it is usually a simple matter for Marxists to point out the class interest barely concealed by the liberal phraseology employed by spokesmen of the bourgeoisie in the period when they were still confident, the ideological situation is more confusing today. On the one hand, the challenge to capitalism has brought about a bourgeois crisis of faith in its own right and capacity to rule which is reflected in an ever shriller insistence that nothing has changed and business will go on as usual. On the other, the demoralisation of bourgeois society has resulted in a disenchantment with "liberalism" by certain philosophers who have nothing constructive to put in its place. Alienated from the society in which they find themselves, these philosophers can only take alienation itself as the human condition. Loneliness and despair are man's portion and there is nothing much he can do about it. The freedom of the individual, which for those who continue to support the capitalist system is a licence to enjoy privileges at the expense of others, has become for those who no longer believe in capitalism, but believe in nothing else either, the right to be miserable on their own—but miserable in relative comfort of course. In both cases systematic thought is vitiated by extreme philosophical egoism which is simply a reflection of the practical selfishness characterising life in the atomised conditions of bourgeois society.

Alienation is the point of contact between these philosophers whom disillusionment with capitalism has given a negative outlook and Marxists as critics of capitalist society. In his earlier writings Marx himself developed at some length the philosophical implications of alienation; but in his more mature work, as Professor Schaff reminds us, he made little use of the term. The reason for this is that in bourgeois society all men are more or less alienated—the proletariat in their work and the bourgeois intellectuals in their thought; and therefore the concept of alienation tends to blur the issue of class conflict. The appropriation of surplus value, which makes quite clear who exploits whom, is the vital fact about bourgeois society; and all the secondary effects of a social system based on exchange relationships can be considered under the general descriptive term "commodity fetishism". This more concrete analysis enables Marx not only to *explain* the social phenomenon of alienation but to show precisely how it can be *eliminated*, by the successful struggle of the proletariat to end exploitation which involves the end of class distinction. It is not surprising that bourgeois sociologists are prepared to find the writings of the young Marx stimulating and useful while rejecting most of his later work.

The State

Socialism is not built in a day nor do attitudes and ways of thinking conditioned by centuries of class division disappear the moment the economic basis of class has been altered. In the early stages of laying the foundation of socialist society there are temporary periods of confusion resulting from false starts and wrong turnings which may superficially resemble the confusion of a bourgeois society in a state of decay—just as a man climbing a slope and one slithering down it will at one point have the same view of the surrounding country-side. It is this superficial resemblance which has enabled the corrupted ideology of the West to make its appeal to certain intellectuals in Poland. The remedy for this tendency of some artists and intellectuals to look over their shoulders to the West for inspiration does not lie in the imposition of a rigid censorship but in the continued development of socialist relationships and, particularly, the abolition of the antithesis between mental and manual labour in which such deviations from Marxism are rooted.

But at the same time, of course, as Professor

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Schaff uncompromisingly states, there can be no question of permitting people to exploit these temporary difficulties by advocating any political retreat from Marxist-Leninist principles. "Those who demanded 'institutional guarantees' for socialism in our country, betraying thereby their desire for the parliamentary system to be introduced, were deeply mistaken." Such people, he argues, conveniently forget the role of the state and its institutions in the conflict between classes over different conceptions of freedom. "The state is always a class instrument. Its function is to guard and serve those conceptions of freedom which follow from the interest of the dominant class." This is proved by the way "the bourgeoisie sweeps parliament itself, together with all the institutional guarantees, off the map, even in countries of old parliamentary tradition, as soon as it appears that this form of rule no longer ensures its domination." What revisionists either consciously or unconsciously choose to ignore in questions of freedom is "the dialectical relationship of democracy and dictatorship as the expression of the conflicts latent in our social structure. Marxism holds that full democracy can be attained only by means of a dictatorship exercised against the enemies of democracy, and regards the dictatorship of the proletariat as a higher form of democracy in comparison with bourgeois democracy." Professor Schaff justifies the continued use of a name emphasising the dictatorial and not the democratic side of a new socialist state on historical grounds. "The Communist movement wanted sharply to distinguish its own from the bourgeois-liberal and social-democratic conceptions of the state. The terminology came into use in controversies concerning the nature of the class struggle under capitalism and of the socialist revolution."

Of course once a socialist revolution has been consolidated, it is important that ever broader masses of people should be drawn into direct participation in deciding public questions; and Professor Schaff is critical of over-caution in this matter by those in leading positions. "It must be remembered that if too much liberalism is a mistake for which we may pay dearly, the price of checking the progress of democratisation of social life is equally heavy."

Philosophical revisionism is always the ideological reflection of class-compromise or, even, class-collaboration. It is the result of defeatism on the part of those who are overawed by the apparent strength of the class enemy and are thus led to play down the necessity of class struggle.

But overestimating the strength of the class enemy really means underestimating the power of the people—the combined force of the millions who suffer from class depredation. As Professor Schaff concludes his book:

> "One may object to socialism in its entirety, one may stubbornly deny its humanism; but the hungry and exploited will sooner or later come to understand that hunger will finally cease in this world of potential abundance only when the system of exploitation is abolished. . . . What enthuses fighters against enslavement are the real perspectives of liberation and the attractiveness of its examples. For the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America the teachers and models will continue to be the Soviet Union and People's China, and certainly not Portugal, Belgium, Great Britain or the United States of America."

It is in the "real perspectives of liberation" and the prospect of true freedom for the great mass of people when imperialism has been smashed that Professor Schaff shows up the dishonest pretensions of bourgeois philosophy with all its talk about the liberty of the individual. As a Marxist he subjects the ideas of bourgeois apologists to the test of concreteness to discover the class interests behind their abstractions and the ideas of revisionists to the test of militancy to prove the insincerity of their professed desire for social change. Concreteness in thought and militancy in the action of class struggle are shown throughout this little book to be the touchstones of true Marxism-Leninism.

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Satire—The New Revolt?

Mike Down

HISTORIANS will look back to our times and record the Cuba crisis, the Indian-Chinese border dispute, and the final collapse of the Common Market negotiations. Yet some may also note the spontaneous and often amusing reactions of young, middle class people in Britain to the political uncertainties of their times. One reaction has shown itself in the remarkable increase in both the quality and quantity of political satire over the past twelve months. The outburst of controversy aroused over the content, presentation, and political effectiveness of "New Satire" has simply added to its general impact.

The fortnightly lampoon, *Private Eye,* for example, started the year as a duplicated rag available in one or two student haunts in London. Today a larger, glossier, printed *Private Eye* can be seen on the counters of practically every newsagent in Britain. Its circulation now runs into hundreds of thousands—despite a boycott by some of our biggest distributors. The greatest circulation jump came in March, when Randolph Churchill took the magazine to court for a full page attack on his father. *Private Eye* settled out of court, with a £1,500 apology in the London *Evening Standard.* It must have been worth every penny in publicity.

Other satirical magazines were to follow, and "satire columns" began to appear in several national newspapers. The *Observer* set the trend, with its special page on satire which at one time included features from *Private Eye,* but now limits itself to a Michael Frayn article and some cartoons. Satirical books, too, have appeared—including *Private Eye on London* which sold out two printings at Christmas.

Satire in Vogue

Television was quick to take up the challenge. Satire meant good business, and ITV's *On the Braden Beat* soon came into competition with BBC's *That Was The Week That Was.* The programme is now in summer recess, but by the end of its run TWTW was clocking up a steady twelve million viewers every Saturday night—four times the usual figure. Its short political sketches often fell flat. The sexy Millicent Martin jazz numbers sometimes failed to come off. Occasional "serious" comments frequently stuck out like sore thumbs. Too many of the jokes, contributors and attitudes came direct from *Private Eye.* Yet this type of political cabaret was funnier than most of the material served up to us before, and also far more progressive and imaginative.

Newspaper columns, magazines, and television shows could not satiate the public appetite for satire. The magazine writers and television artistes made gramophone records, which sold in their thousands. Records by American satirists like Mort Sahl and Lenny Bruce also sold well. But their wholly destructive, apolitical, "sick" brand of humour, while providing much of the early impetus behind British satire, never really caught on here. Lenny Bruce, despite free publicity from the Government ban on his entering the country, could not really compete with *Private Eye's* recording of "dramatic readings from the magazine by the editorial board, and introducing the singing sensation of 1963—the voice itself—Harold Macmillan".

Neo-Anarchism?

Soho's *Establishment Club,* founded two years ago by Peter Cook and Nicholas Luard, continues to prosper. This club provided satire's first real foothold, and the new type of entertainment pioneered there quickly spilled over into the London theatres—desperately in need of fresh material to shore up their flagging box-office returns.

Beyond the Fringe, Three at Nine and *The Premise* all did very nicely. The *Fringe* cast is now touring America, but a caretaker cast at the Fortune is still rolling them in, despite competition from *Looking for Action* at the Prince Charles, and Spike Milligan's brilliant *Bed Sitting Room* at the Duke of York's.

This sudden and phenomenal vogue for satire is, of course, closely related to the current political situation. Satirists may differ in their individual approaches, but they are united in their contempt for the establishment. They see a tired and almost pathetic Tory administration reeling punch drunk in the political ring, totally incapable of dealing with heavy unemployment, the crises in education and housing, the humiliating Common Market rebuff, and the double decay of Britain's position in the world and their own position in Britain.

Our new satirists are reacting to a situation which should result in a strengthening of working-class unity, an increase in the political awareness

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of the people, and the spread of socialist ideas among students and intellectuals. The utter failure of Labour Party and Trade Union leaders to provide socialist alternatives to collapsing Tory policies, together with press and television propaganda of the highest order, has cut back such advances. Instead of turning towards socialism to calm its growing frustration, a section of the British public is turning to what could be termed "neo-anarchism" — students, intellectuals, and young white-collar workers especially.

Neo-anarchism's essential features are firstly a total lack of positive values, secondly an open contempt for authority, and thirdly a hatred of politics and politicians. Neo-anarchists are against everything, even sometimes themselves.

Expressions of Revolt

Osborne, Wain, Amis and Waugh have laid the literary foundations of neo-anarchism. In their novels and plays they have exposed the barren debauched standards of capitalist Britain, and have crystallised the feeling of frustration and hopelessness so common among intellectuals today. Their counterparts in the thirties felt similarly about the general crisis of European capitalism, but as novelists and as citizens played a far more positive part in the struggle for human values amidst the chaos around them. Some modern writers do, admittedly, join in the nuclear disarmament movement, though only a few take forward this commitment into the fight for socialism. The Spanish Civil War is one thing, it seems, and American imperialism quite another. The former can be understood and acted upon. The latter is altogether too complex, too awesome, to bother about. Hence the neo-anarchist retreat into Samuel Beckett's dustbins, or Harold Pinter's nightmares of the mind.

The philosophy of neo-anarchism is cynical and pessimistic, closely connected with the idealist philosophy of existentialism. Life is absurd. Human aspirations are vain and futile. Bourgeois ethics and Christian morality are moribund, and nothing exists to replace them. Society is corrupt and unchangeable. Only within the shell of his own individual consciousness can man ever hope to find satisfaction.

Its most obvious political expression is shown in the rise of the Liberal Party. The Liberals have no coherent election programme, no clear political philosophy, no genuine class basis. Many thousands of the electors who, in recent by-elections, voted Liberal, were voting against politics, against the Establishment—in a word, for anarchy. Disillusioned by Tory promises never to be kept, concerned about many of the great problems facing the world, yet totally unaware of the solutions which socialism can offer, many young, middle-class people turn to this neo-anarchism.

The growth of Peace movements, both here and in America, Scandinavia and Western Germany, has not been entirely divorced from the trend outlined above. Those CND members who march, leaflet, and sometimes go to jail, clearly do not accept the neo-anarchist thesis that man cannot change society. Their response to one of the great evils of Western "democracy" is more positive, more courageous than that of the anarchists. Yet many CND members do see the H-bomb as an evil in itself, rather than the product of imperialism. America and Russia both have bombs, ergo both are evil. Some CND members do develop their political ideas, and join the swelling ranks of Young Socialists and Young Communists, but moral over-simplification causes many more to drift into the abyss of idealism and confusion—fine prey for the neo-anarchists.

During the Cuba crisis last October, some of the demonstrators outside the American Embassy in London insisted on marching off to the Soviet Embassy. This absurd act of faith in total political neutrality indicates the degree of confusion existing in the minds of many progressive people today. Thousands of students, for example, who might normally be won for socialism, devote all their time to collecting money for charity, and confine their political commitment to wearing a CND badge. When one points out that the starving Kenyans and South Vietnamese regard freedom from imperialism as a prerequisite for freedom from hunger, they smile sadly, mutter "Commie", and go on rattling. Yet this concern over some of the more horrible aspects of colonialism, however confused and idealistic it may be, does represent a change of attitude among students (and indeed among the general public) towards some of the great problems facing humanity.

The increase in the number of satirical magazines, stage shows, and television programmes, then, is simply one of many signs—some positive, others quite negative—of this changing public attitude to a changing world situation. That the satire, linked to this changing attitude, should have a left-wing tinge to it is inevitable.

The Monarchy

Despite cries of alarm from most of the critics, the monarchy is a number one target for modern satirists. The never-ending Royal romances, the Queen's Christmas speech, and Prince Philip's pheasant shoots, have all been brilliantly (if predictably) debunked. Yet behind this most welcome offensive there lurks a sneaking, quite unconscious,

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respect. The attacks are in no way republican, indeed these appendages of the ruling class, these advocates and defenders of capitalism, are presented as harmless and ruling remnants of the feudal aristocracy.

Yet public attacks on the monarchy, however mild, are new in Britain of the last decades. Gentle ridicule could pave the way for reasoned analysis of the role "our" monarchy plays in contemporary Britain. This *Private Eye* comment appeared three weeks before a Labour motion in the House of Commons, expressing concern over the high costs involved in maintaining the aristocracy:

> "Just returned from her second smash hit tour of 'down under' where live some of her most devoted fans, today Elizabeth Regina—'Queenie' —is right at the top of the show business tree. Commanding over £10,000 a week, Liz is right up on a level with that handful of stars—Elvis, Ella, Harold—known universally simply by their first names. Liz has every status symbol a star could want—a luxury yacht, glittering ball gowns, a large house set in spacious grounds right in the heart of London's fashionable West End, not to mention several country retreats where she likes to 'get away from it all'. And yet, at heart, Liz is just an ordinary fun-loving girl, just like the girl next door.
>
> "She adores riding, swimming, travel, and 'just sitting around'—something, of course, she has plenty of time for in her job! Yet it is only eleven years since Elizabeth was just plain Liz Windsor, the ordinary girl from the West End who'd somehow 'just always known that one day she'd be a star'. Her big break came through tragedy—through the death of her father, a retired seaman who lived quietly in their Norfolk home and occasionally did social work . . ." (*Private Eye*—March 22nd, 1963).

On the Tories

Macmillan and his hangers-on are also popular figures of fun. The satirists' main problem here seems to be making the take-offs funnier than the twits being taken off. Yet the *Private Eye* cartoons of a lamp-shaded, shrivelled and impotent Lord Home; or its balloon captioned photographs of Macmillan, bumbling and blathering his way from one absurdity to another; and BBC television's TWTWTW presentation of Butler defending reactionary and insincerely held ideas on capital punishment; all these pieces of satire are clever in their way, and can only undermine the little public confidence still remaining in the Tory clique.

Yet the modern satirists have already discovered that the best way to expose this clique is not through crude caricature, but through simple photography. The Establishment Club's funniest show involved straight newsreels—suitably amended. *Private Eye* succeeds best in its balloon-captioned Press photographs.

Even their most successful onslaughts against the Tory government, however, are usually negative and empty, often degenerating into mere abuse and innuendo (as in the *Private Eye* treatment of the Vassall-Galbraith affair, for example). Politically backward, the neo-anarchists hit out at politicians rather than Tory politicians. Their occasional anti-Khrushchov, anti-Castro and anti-Trade Union sketches could often have been lifted direct from *Workers' Playtime* or the *Daily Telegraph* "Peter Simple" column.

Satirists and Peace

Despite occasional lapses into "sick" humour, on the subject of nuclear war and militarism, our satirists tend to adopt an honest, pacifist position. H-bombs are denounced as expensive, evil, and dangerous, wanted only by idiots. To many socialists this classical pacifist argument appears naive and idealistic, but to many members of the public their anti-militarist "propaganda" is quite new. Yet in using these moral arguments our new satirists do run the risk of fostering an illusion of protest, while in reality strengthening the cynicism and apathy which have made so many people acquiesce in the situation. To hit out at vague targets like "immorality", "human stupidity" and so on, the satirists are obliged to use shot-guns rather than rifles. Some pellets hit the target, but most do not. Indeed, the reason for this becomes clear when we witness the very same guns being trained on Canon Collins, Bertrand Russell and the Aldermaston marchers—the very people attempting to *DO* something about the situation, instead of merely laughing about it.

Private Eye's comment on the Cuba blockade, when put against Swift's comment on War, shows the inherent weakness of contemporary satire:

> "Miami, Florida. November. There is an air of incredible tension in this waterfront town here tonight. During the past few days half the US Army has moved into Florida to play its vital part in the forthcoming Naval blockade. 'Operation Peace-loving' as it is known, is proceeding smoothly, despite last night's revelation that President Kennedy's pictures are all fakes. Said Kennedy himself, 'What the Hell, the show must go on'. Commented cigar-chewing, grenade throwing, 7-star General Otis P. Kneethug, in charge of naval operations, 'These Chinese must be taught a lesson'. Lord Home expresses concurrence with these views.
>
> "And here is the picture that could mean World War III. To the ordinary peaceloving reader it may look like an ordinary clump of trees in any old field. Which is, of course, what

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it is. But the trained observer looks beyond the simple peace-loving blades of grass, the few freedom hungry sheep. For when this picture is blown up 24,000 times it shows nothing less than thousands of nuclear missiles, each carefully labelled with the name of an individual American city and the words 'Made in Russia'. These are the secrets revealed by the ever-vigilant eye of the peaceloving U2 pilot and the careful use of white ink in the Pentagon photographic section."

Swift and the "New Satire"

Those extremely amusing, and perhaps above average, comments on the Cuba crisis, appeared in November 2nd's *Private Eye*. The following occurs in *Gulliver's Travels*—written in 1720:

> "(The King) asked me what were the usual causes or motives that made one country go to war with another. I answered, 'they were innumerable, but I should only mention a few. Sometimes the ambition of princes, who never think they have land or people enough to govern; sometimes the corruption of ministers, who engage their master in a war in order to stifle or divert the clamour of the subjects against their evil administration. Differences of opinion have cost many millions of lives; for instance, whether flesh be bread or bread be flesh; whether the juice of a certain berry be blood or wine . . . neither are any wars so furious and bloody, or of so long continuance, as those occasioned by difference of opinion, especially if it be things indifferent."

New satirists must be getting tired of being told they are not as good as Swift. But why is it that Swift—writing about the world of two hundred years ago—touches us more deeply than any of the satirical comments directed against the no less absurd world of today? Confused and destructive, Swift continues his indignant invective against war, and those who cause war:

> "Sometimes the quarrel between two princes is to decide which of them shall dispossess a third of his dominions, where neither of them pretend any right; sometimes one prince quarrels with another for fear the other should quarrel with him; sometimes a war is entered upon because the enemy is too strong; and sometimes because he is too weak; sometimes our neighbours want something which we have, or have the things which we want, and we both fight till they take ours, or we take theirs. It is a very justifiable cause of a war to invade a country after the people have been wasted by famine, destroyed by pestilence, or embroiled by factions among themselves. If a prince sends forces into a nation where the people are poor and ignorant, he may lawfully put half of them to death, and make slaves of the rest, in order to civilise them, and reduce them from their barbarous way of living. . . . For these reasons, the trade of a soldier is held the most honourable of all others, because (he) is hired to kill, in cold blood, as many of his own species, who have never offended him, as he possibly can."

I make no apology for quoting at such length. Will *Private Eye* be similarly quoted in 250 years' time, and if not, why not? Because there is more *humanity* in a single page of *Gulliver* than in all the editions of *Private Eye* rolled into one. Behind Swift's ridicule, wit, irony and sarcasm, there lurks a *deep concern for humanity* which is nowhere to be found among his modern counterparts. He was, in his time, bitterly attacked, and many of his works were banned. In Germany during the late twenties and early thirties, socialists and anarchists used political satire as a weapon against the rise of fascism. Their exposure of the German bourgeoisie was so ruthless that many ended up either in exile or in concentration camps. When the trumpets of Brecht and Swift blew, the walls of Jericho really did come tumbling down.

Satire and the Establishment

How does the British ruling class react to New Satire? It seems that decaying societies, like decaying teeth, invite the tongue to probe, and touch. Jonathan Miller's *Beyond the Fringe* recording of a ridiculous, waffling parson is actually being used in Anglican seminaries to train parsons in the art of making sermons. The *Establishment Club* has been enthusiastically visited by members of the Royal Family, Cabinet Ministers, and Tory MPs. The *Daily Telegraph* was inundated with letters supporting TWTWTW after an editorial attack on the programme. Rolls Royces and Bentleys crowd the car parks of our "satire" theatres. *Private Eye* undoubtedly has a big Top People clientèle, while ultra-reactionary newspapers like the *Daily Mail* find it profitable to publish regular contributions by David Frost—the high priest of New Satire. The neo-anarchists are being beaten at their own game, and in their attacking of the Establishment, they are in danger of becoming part of it. Their lash is falling on willing shoulders, and evokes cries, not of pain, but of delight.

One reason for satire's popularity among the very sections of society against which it is supposed to be directed, may be sought in the social backgrounds of the satirists themselves. Jonathan Miller, Peter Cook and Nicholas Luard, who own both *Private Eye* magazine and the *Establishment Club*, all went to public schools and are all Cambridge graduates. David Frost, the TWTWTW compere, is the son of a Methodist minister, and

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also comes from Cambridge. William Rushton, Richard Ingrams, and Christopher Booker—the main *Private Eye* contributors—are Oxford men. When asked about his politics, Lance Percival—TWTWTW's goonish Lord Home—remarked that he had no politics, that to him "satire means money, man—long live satire!"

Several commentators have attempted to understand the renaissance of British satire. Some see in it just another sign that "the country is going to the dogs". The *Daily Telegraph* critic sternly warned that, "if the 'satirical' attitude to our system of Government, to our Society itself, becomes normal, our system of Government and our Society will fall victim, perhaps sooner than we think, to those abnormal people . . . who, far from being satirical, are in deadly earnest". Michael Frayn of the *Guardian* suspects latent Fascism—a view surely coloured by a cutting parody of the *Guardian* (and Mr. Frayn) in a recent *Private Eye*.

The *Daily Worker* and *Comment* critics have welcomed New Satire, and have praised the BBC for its "courage" in presenting the programme TWTWTW. At the same time, these critics have indicated the common feeling that this humour is specifically middle class, and directed within, rather than against, the framework of contemporary capitalism. Most left-wing critics have expressed no such reservations, and like Mervyn Jones of *Tribune*, have given unqualified praise to *That Was The Week*.

The *Peace News* television commentator went to the other extreme, flaying contemporary satire for being both a product and a cause of political complacency in Britain. The head of the BBC research department on the other hand thinks that people enjoy satire through a kind of illicit thrill obtained by hearing "one's own side" attacked—like Lord Haw Haw's propaganda broadcasts during the war. As one *Daily Worker* critic sardonically remarked, satire will have as little success in undermining the Establishment as Lord Haw Haw had with the British war effort.

New Satire is an aspect of the disillusionment of people, particularly young people, in capitalist Britain, a disillusionment made empty and sterile by their failure to see any positive alternatives. The satirists are rebels against the kind of Society which has more betting shops than schools, and more strip-clubs than hospitals. They do not pretend to be revolutionaries, and even at their best play a negative part in the movement for socialism. Their position has been well summed up by Malcolm Muggeridge in a recent *New Statesman* article on satire. He told the story of a missionary who, as an ardent young evangelist, felt it to be his duty to attend a heathen festival and denounce the god who was being worshipped. At first the heathens cursed and stoned the good man, to his great satisfaction and edification. At subsequent festivals opposition grew more languid, until finally it ceased altogether. When the missionary at last retired, his Society received a request from the festival authorities for a replacement. His act had become part of the show.

Discussion contribution on:

What is Jazz?

Alfred Corum

MY comments on Laurie Green's article got the response I anticipated and repeats many experiences of a similar nature. But, dear comrades, assertion is not argument. The problem is to find the relationship of jazz to the broad stream of music and to society generally.

In a Marxist journal the approach to such a problem must be dialectical and scientific. What are the essentials of such an approach? There must be observation and classification, of things and phenomena, of matter in motion, from which are deduced generalisations about behaviour and predictions about the consequences of certain happenings. But "laws" discovered in this process are no more than working hypotheses and, as knowledge increases, are themselves subject to modification. In human experience so far, finality has not been reached, but the more universal the observation, the more adequate the law in practice. My complaint about the jazz fan is that his judgment, usually expressed so dogmatically, is based on inadequate observation.

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In the two articles in the April issue, the whole corpus of European music over the past 600 years, not to speak of Arab, Indian, Chinese and African music, is completely ignored and, in fact, by inference, condemned as inferior and not worthy of notice. This is what I mean by musical illiteracy. The word is not used in a derogatory sense but to describe an objective fact. How can one put jazz in perspective if the perspective is not there?

Why Import Jazz?

Now for my critics. All right! Jazz is the folk music of the Negro working class. But observe, the *American* Negro working class, for most jazz experts agree that there is very little trace of indigenous African music in jazz, whose earliest origins go back to gospel song. But Hungarian folk music is the music of the Hungarian peasantry and we in this country had a rich folk music which was submerged in the industrial revolution but which is now living and surfacing again through the work of the Cecil Sharps and the present-day folk-song groups. And that it is living is shown by the new songs being produced in industrial settings and with political content. Why did we have to import jazz from abroad? There must be a reason.

I suggest, in part, for the same reason that we import American films, American comics, American foods and American missiles; it pays someone to do so. And for this the mass of the people are being robbed of their native culture.

This is not to assert that American jazz, any more than American films, has no appeal. It is very obvious that it has. But go to the Proms. at the Albert Hall or to the gallery at Sadlers Wells and you will see that other forms of music have appeal as well, sometimes to the same people who enjoy jazz also.

It is true that contemporary music, like the other arts (read Ray Watkinson on Abstract Art in the March issue) is taking some strange paths, but so also is modern jazz. The essential difference is that what is played in the concert hall is the result of centuries of development and what stays in the repertoire is the distilled cultural experience of a large part of the human race. All right, "jazz, in its origins, is the improvised music of the Negro", a section of the human race.

Brown says "the jazzman finds the old forms unsuitable to express the complexity of feelings he has as an individual living in an urbanised world where values are no longer defined". I accept his statement, with the accent on "individual". Whereas a performance of the Master-singers of the Choral Symphony is a great co-operative undertaking involving hundreds of people, in jazz the present tendency appears to be to employ a maximum of five and even the so-called "big" band does not usually exceed fifteen and this effectually rules out "free form" and extemporisation, said to be the essence of jazz.

On this ground alone, the degree of human co-operation involved, I think we are justified that jazz is not such a developed art form, however one may talk of the "intense rhythmic and harmonic expressiveness which characterises *all* jazz". Note the *"all"*; no music lover would dare to make such a claim for so-called classical music.

One Stream Amongst Many

A question involved is "Is the working class to reject the artistic heritage of the past and, when it gains power, make its own culture from the ground up or is it to build on what has been bequeathed to us? All through the capitalist era the working class has had its musical culture (brass bands, choirs, etc.) and today it has its dance bands and amateur jazz combos. It is true that most art music was monopolised by the bourgeoisie, but the artists themselves, composers, performers, particularly under the feudal system (remnants of which persisted in parts of Europe right up to 1945), were by any Marxist classification, workers, whose product was appropriated by their ruling class. Are we not, all of us, in the period of socialism, to use and enjoy their products and to build better on their foundations? In this sense jazz has a contribution to make but only if it sees itself as one stream among many.

I do not expect these arguments to cut much ice with the jazz fan. I say it in no superior spirit (I sincerely regret this division in music between "Classical" and "Popular") but until he has made as close a study of the classical heritage and gets some idea of what it is all about, he is not in a position to pass judgment even on jazz except on a I-know-what-I-like basis. His view is bound to be one-sided and subjective.

CORRECTION

In the article on *Economic Trends in the Capitalist World* (*Marxism Today*, May 1963) on p. 135, right-hand column, line 18, instead of "British monopoly capitalism" read "the British Commonwealth".

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